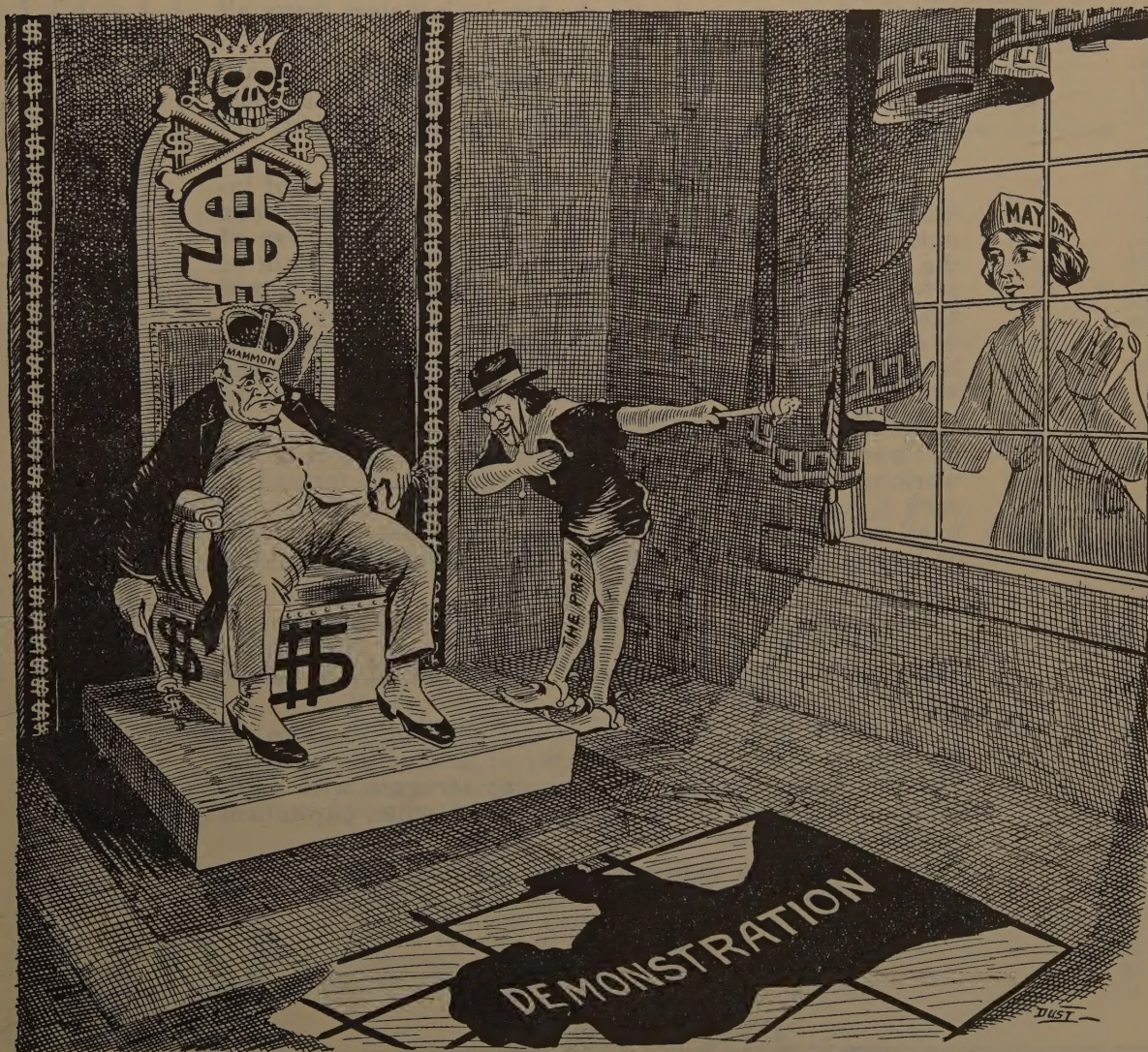


The One Big Union *Monthly*



FIRST OF MAY

PRICE FIFTEEN CENTS



Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

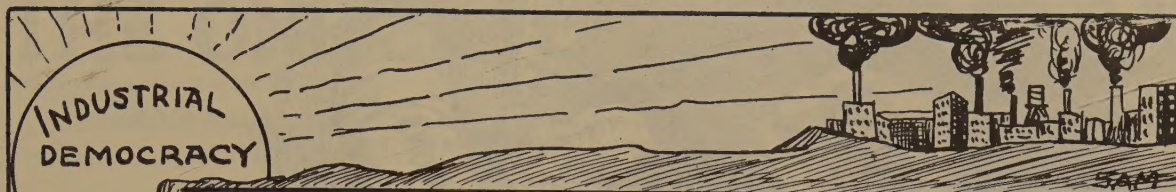
These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

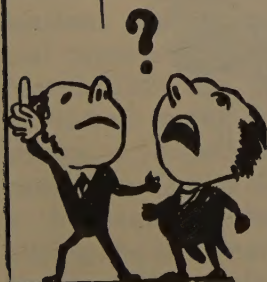
By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

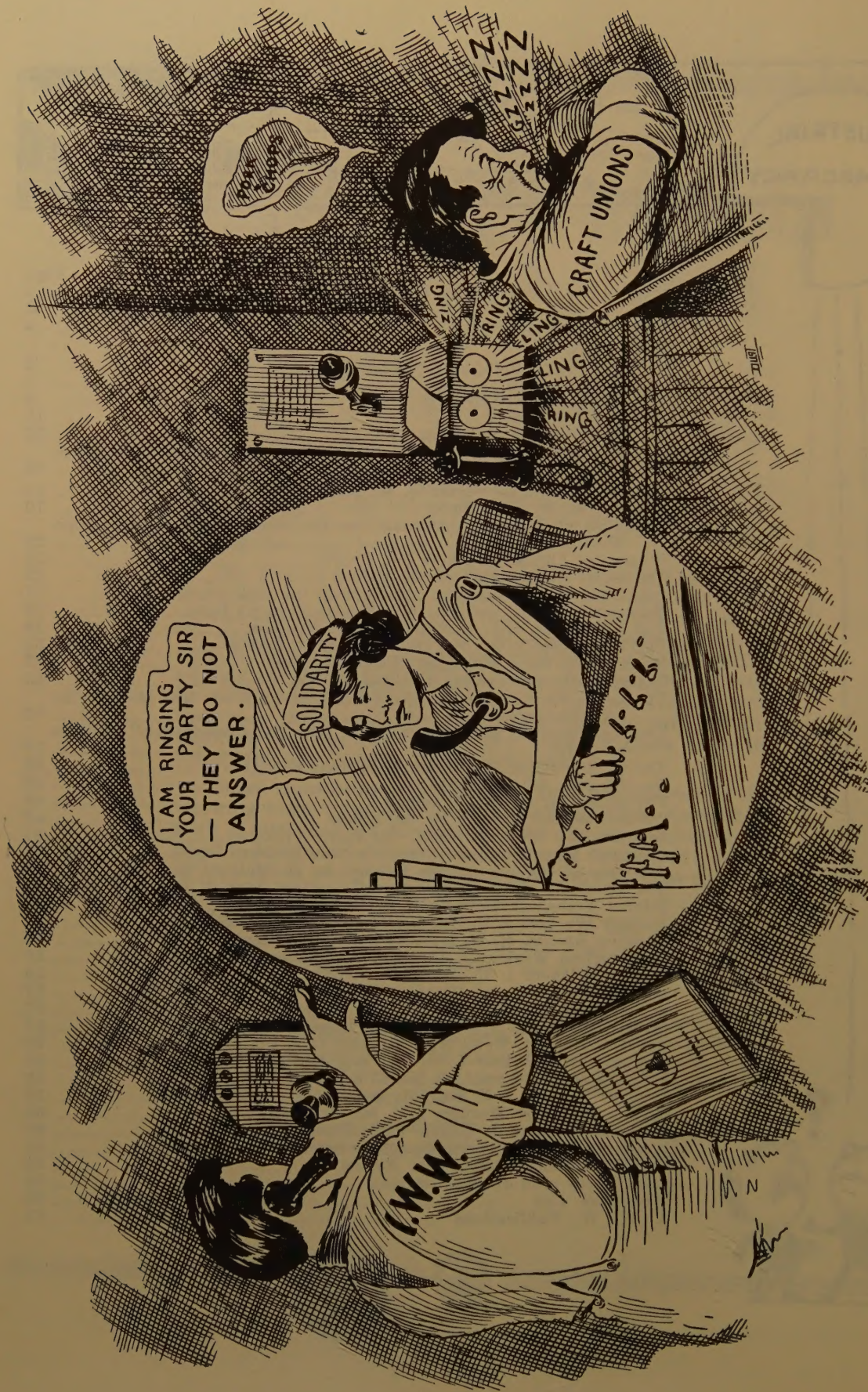




INDEX

	Page
First of May, Cartoon by Dust	1
I. W. W. Preamble	2
Nobody Home. Cartoon by Dust	4
EDITORIALS:	
The 12th Annual Convention of the I. W. W.	5
First of May	7
The I. W. W. Prisoners	9
25—40 years	11
The Great Railway Strike	13
"We told you so." An open letter at the five expelled Congress- man in New York.	15
The Background of Centralia. By Ralph Chaplin	17
An all-I. W. W. crew. Photo	19
Evolution of Logging Conditions on the Northwest Coast by Ralph Winstead	20
Where the Lumber Workers toil. Photo.	21
The Home on the edge of the Forest	25
Improving Camp Conditions, Cartoon by De Moi	27
Between the Devil and the Deep Sea. Cartoon by Dust	29
Can a Mule reason? Cartoon by a Lumberjack	30
The Brotherhoods and the crafts. By W. J. Lemon	31
My Kingdom for a Red Flag. Cartoon by Dust	32
Rejecting the partnership. Cartoon by Wm. Ekman	35
The I. W. W. A statement of its Principles, Objects and Methods by John Sandgren	36
The Nightmare of the Cartoonist on "The Daily Sandpaper." Cartoon by Dust	37
The Vindication of the Utopians. By John Sandgren	42
On the edge of the Abyss	43
The Blacklist. By W. J. Lemon	45
"With Drops of Blood." By the Editor	46
Who are the 100% Patriots? By James Pontius	47
A Crumb from the upper Crust. Cartoon by Dust	48
A couple of 100 per centers. Cartoon by De Moi	49
The gruesome story of American Terrorism. Inst. 3	51
Marine Transport Workers I. U. No. 8, Bulletins	54
Lumber Workers I. U. No. 500. Yearly report	55
Superior Branch, N. W. Defense Committee Report	55
Construction Workers I. U. No. 573, Election	55
Textile Workers I. U. No. 1000, Report	56
Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers I. U. No. 1100, Report	57
Agricultural Workers I. U. No. 400, Report	57
Metal Mine Workers I. U. No. 800, Report	57
Superior District, Metal Mine Workers I. U. No. 800, Report	58
Construction Workers I. U. No. 573, Report	58
Construction Workers I. U. No. 573, Report	59
Lumber Workers I. U. No. 500, Report	59
Marine Transport Workers I. U. No. 8, Report	60
Railroad Workers I. U. No. 600, Report	60
Industrial Workers of the World, General Office Report	60
General Defense Committee, Report	62
Solid as the rock of ages. Cartoon	62
Literature List	63
I. W. W. Publications	64





NOBODY HOME

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

Published Monthly by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World,
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

JOHN SANDGREN, Editor

Subscription price, \$1.50 per year; 15 cents per copy; bundle orders, 10 cents per copy, non-returnable. For sale by all newsdealers.

Address subscriptions, business communications and remittances to **The One Big Union Monthly**, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. Other communications should be addressed to The Editor.

The 12th Annual Convention of the I. W. W.

On May 10th the 12th annual convention of the I. W. W. meets in Chicago.

Our enemies have during the past year struck the heaviest blows they could against us with the object of annihilating and dispersing us. Justice has been outraged is almost every state of the union with that end in view, and hundreds of our most active members have been put in jail, with an outward observance of legal forms, but under circumstances which might best be characterized as a masked capitalist rebellion against the government devised and aimed at by the American people.

These revolutionary acts camouflaged as the upholding of the constitution and of "law and order", are having their effect upon our organization. The system of terrorism exercised by a government subservient to the capitalist interests, in conjunction with a gigantic unofficial machine of so-called patriotism and 100 per cent Americanism, has kept people from joining us and scared some members out of our ranks, but not enough to break down our organization. A comparison between the financial reports from the industrial unions for March, 1920 and the same month 1919, as published in the One Big Union Monthly, shows a considerable increase in every case. Even in the Northwest, where close to a thousand members have been arrested during the last year, the bulk of them after the Centralia affair, the profiteers and their hirelings have not been able, with all their terrorism and all their atrocities, to force

our numbers down. Lumber workers Industrial Union No. 500 sold 10,001 due stamps for March 1920 and took in 465 new members. In no case do we have to register a decrease.

The delegates from the industrial unions who meet in Chicago May 10th, represent **a stronger and more vigorous I. W. W.** than we have had heretofore.

It is also to be noted that they represent **a more united I. W. W.** than we ever had. There is at present no dissension in our ranks. We are perfectly agreed on the fundamental principles and on the great questions of the hour. The only outside element which during the year has to any extent disturbed our steady progress in the work of building the framework of the new society within the shell of the old has been the **"communist"** movement, that is the left-wing seceders from the Socialist party. Like the Huns of old with Attila at their head these "massactionists" tried to overrun everything and throw themselves at the head of the labor movement, both in the world of thought and on the field of action. Some of them entered our ranks not so much to assist us in building up industrial unions in accordance with our program, as rather with the object of driving us from our mental position and intellectual equipoise, and engulfing us in their would-be mass action movement, which had for its aim to capture and smash the state. These

communists have exerted some little influence over some of our members, but as we all are getting the right perspective of revolutionary Europe, this influence is waning, and we are again solidly united round the I. W. W. preamble.

The dominating thought among the membership, the thought that holds us together, the thought that constantly wins new recruits for us, is our conviction that a terrible social catastrophe will result from the collapse of capitalism and that we should exert ourselves to the utmost to **get the new organs of production and distribution ready** as quickly as possible, in order to lessen or forestall that catastrophe. Guided by that central idea, the members are working like beavers throughout the country putting up the scaffolding and the framework of the new society within the shell of the old.

We have consequently no controversy on any important matter of principle to expect at the coming convention. We have reason to hope that the convention will be strictly a business convention. And that is fortunate, because it will have many important matters to deal with.

We will not here try to anticipate the work of the delegates, but will only point out that there are **several, both domestic and international issues of importance**. There is the question of international affiliation raised by the invitation from the Russian Industrial unions and by the English Shop Steward movement. **There** may also be questions of co-operation with the new I. W. W. movements in Mexico, Argentine and Chile, as well as other countries.

Due to the enormous extent of the persecution against us the **domestic questions will be of a twofold nature: defense questions and organization questions**.

In regard to **the defense**, there are two currents of opinion among the members. There are some who say that we should drop separate defense activities. They would have the organization throw its whole weight into the work of organization and the lining up of new members, reasoning that we will quicker release the prisoners in this way than in any other way. The

other side, to which most of the prisoners themselves belong, say that if our prisoners were to wait for the day when the I. W. W. has sufficient economic force to open the jail doors, our fellow workers will be a long time in jail. This side holds that we should give our fellow workers the most vigorous legal defense that we are able to give them, at the same time carrying on the organization work. This side holds that the defense campaigns have a great agitational value, and that the organization as such is deriving benefits from it. Whether the considerable increase in membership during the past year is due to the efforts of the one side or the other will probably be debated in the convention during the attempt to formulate a definite defense policy.

Among **organization questions** the two principal ones are the proposition to raise the monthly dues from 50 cents to \$1 and the organizing of the educational work.

The debate on **the dues question** will be attended by a silent spook, namely the ghost of the sheriff, and in his hand he will hold the red flag, not of revolution, but of the sheriff's sale. Lacking an insight into the problem of financing such a complex organization as we are, the membership have indulged in some frenzied finance with the result that the educational work has been seriously crippled. Confronted with the figures in the case the delegates will unquestionably quickly find a solution, even if they have to raise the dues.

As far as **the educational work** is concerned the convention faces the fact that the old literature we have no longer answers the purpose. This literature, with the exception of some few pages, treats exclusively on the theoretical face of our program. It is 95 per cent agitational and only 5 per cent constructive. Most of it tastes rather flat these days. A person who turns to our book shelves with the idea of finding practical guides for the construction of industrial unions will be disappointed. When the steel strike broke out we could have thrown out hundreds of thousands of books containing detailed information of how to organize the steel industry, if we had had such a book written.

The steel workers wanted One Big Union, and we were unable to tell them how to go about it. So we lost that great opportunity. At the moment we are writing, the railroad workers are breaking away from their old craft unions and are raising the cry of "One Big Union." Instinctively they turn to us for information how to organize it. Can we tell them? No, only in a general terms of exhortation. We have no detailed instructions and charts worked out. They may return under the craft union yoke, because we fell short at the critical moment.

It is apparent to everybody that we need a new kind of literature. We can no longer get along with the agitational primers alone that were in demand before the war. The agitation has largely been done by the world war and the world revolution. What we now principally need is books of instruction how to organize each industry, with the proper "blueprints" outlining the form of organization.

We can now begin to sow on the land we previously cleared and plowed with our agitational literature.

The editor of this magazine advanced in the issue of November 1919 the idea of organizing a "**Bureau of Industrial Research**," with a view to writing and publishing a series of **Industrial Union Handbooks**, such as we needed for the steel industry, the railway industry etc. The Agricultural Workers I. U. No. 400 convention at Sioux City, last fall, endorsed the idea and appropriated \$500.00 for the purpose, which are now deposited with the general office. Will the coming convention take this matter up and thus adopt a new educational program? In this case, like always, the question of funds is the first question.

The workers of this and other countries will be watching the doings of the 12th annual convention of the I. W. W. with the greatest of interest. It has a world-important task to perform. Its decision will to an appreciable extent influence the fate of the workers in the near future.

FIRST OF MAY

Those who made the almanach, arbitrarily set New Year's Day in midwinter, on the date which we call January 1. From habit we have consented to celebrate this day, in common with the capitalist class as the beginning of the new year. But the Earth moves in an oval. Its course has no beginning and no end. We could fix upon any day of the year and call it New Years Day. The Jews have their New Year's Day some time in the fall, and in the Southern hemisphere, for instance Buenos Aires, Capetown and New Zealand, New Years comes in the middle of their summer. The Russians and Bulgarians and other people had their New Years Day 13 days after ours until a couple of years ago.

What is the matter with making the First of May the New Years Day of the International Labor movement. We will thereby shake off the hateful memories connected with the capitalist or Christian celebration of New Years. If we want to celebrate the astronomical New Year we should have New Years Day on Dec. 21-22.

The Christians of the Roman empire arbitrarily fixed upon the 14th year of the reign of Emperor Augustus, the 753rd year from the founding of Rome, as the beginning of a new era and called it "year 1". The turning point between the old era and the new era was made the fictitious birthday of a fictitious "savior," Jesus Josephson, a house carpenter of the town of Nazareth, whose gentle philosophy of brotherly love is supposed to change men from bad ones into good ones, by lifting the burden of sin from their spirits or minds.

Well, to judge from the events of the last six year's, we are inclined to believe with the Jews, that this report of the birth of a savior was false. We are with the Jews inclined to still wait for the Messiah to come.

When he does come, when mankind is saved from all its misery, when the capitalist class is wiped off the earth with all that it stands for and a new society is ushered in, we are willing to start a new era, beginning with "Year 1," and are willing to install as

our invisible ruler the Great Spirit of Good.

In the near future, events are sure to take place which mark a new epoch in the history of mankind. The preliminary events have already taken place. The Messiah has already stepped with one foot in Russia, and he already throws his shadow before him over all other countries. The Messiah is not far away. The New Era is imminent. We shall probably soon begin to count with "Year 1" again, closing the door over the era of The Evil Spirits as past history.

Then we will also need a New Year's Day. That we should use the same day as the Jews or the same day as the so-called Christians which have ruled for nearly 2000 years, is entirely out of question. We will unquestionably settle upon a different day as the great festival of the year.

Of course, such a day should be symbolic of returning life after a long winter. But as they have summer in Buenos Aires and in Capetown when we have winter in Chicago and Moskwa, we cannot celebrate the birth of new life on the same day. When the tulips begin to bloom in Montreal, they are snowed under in Punta Arenas. As it is hardly practicable to have one New Years day for the Northern Hemisphere and another one for the Southern Hemisphere, our fellow workers in the south, who are outnumbered by us Northerners almost as 10 to 1, would probably consent to have us choose the day.

Having thus opened the way for a referendum on the question we imagine we hear from all corners of the world.

ALL HAIL TO FIRST OF MAY
ALL HAIL TO FIRST OF MAY.

We make First of May, by unanimous consent, the First Day of Year One of The Communist Era!

Just where the line shall be drawn between the dark past and the bright future, that will be for workers to decide one of these days.

Why the First of May.

For lack of a spring poet around our editorial offices (Most of our poets are jungle poets) we have to try to state the rea-

son, the why of the First of May, in naked prose.

The celebration of First of May is as ancient as history on the Northern Hemisphere. The night before is Valpurgis night or mass (in Swedish: Valborgs-messan.) This night has since times immemorial been celebrated by the people of Europe with the lighting of immense bonfires on the hilltops. Most of the rural Scandinavians you meet will tell you that they have since childhood participated in this ancient custom of dragging fuel up to the hilltops for that bonfire. If you ask them why they do it, they will tell you they do not know. They do it "because it has always been so." No doubt the custom loses itself in some mystic religious rite of prehistoric times.

Having spent the night in revel, it was natural that they should make the following day a holiday, on which no work was done. Gradually the Valpurgis night has lost its significance, except in the country, but First of May stays as a universal holiday, irrespective of any resolutions adopted by the workers organizations.

"First of May" originated in the U. S.

As we are writing this we have before us a 40-page pamphlet written by John Anderson, a G. E. B. member of the Syndicalist movement in Sweden, with which to support the collection of funds for the I. W. W. defense.

From this pamphlet we translate the following:

"A struggle that justly attracted international attention was the great campaign for the 8-hour day in 1886. At that time 360,000 workers in America demanded the shorter workday.

"As a means of pressure they threatened with a general strike. 150,000 men then obtained the 8 hour day. **On May the First** 210,000 workers went out on general strike. The result was that 42,000 more had their demands granted. Altogether 182,000 men thus won the eight hour day. This was accomplished by means of direct action, that is, through the personal efforts of the workers on the economic field.

It was in memory of this splendid, victori-

ous battle that the International Labor Congress in Paris, in the year of 1889, decided to make May the First of every year a day of demonstration, in the first place for a shortening of the workday.

"This struggle in America is, consequently, the origin of the celebrating of May First in the sign of socialism and international solidarity."

So much the more cause for the workers of America, to continue to observe First of May as a day of demonstration.

In the future it will be a gay celebration, when all the bitter memories are past and buried, but for the present it must remain a day of intense agitation and education. Possessed of great traditions as the day is, it makes the workers particularly susceptible to ideas of liberty and achievement for the deliverance of mankind.

According to the kept press the capitalist class have discovered the value of this day, and a proposition has been made by the so-

called patriotic societies to steal the day from us and turn it into a terrorist festival, when the Ku-Kluxers and the hired gunmen and sluggers would get carte blanche to molest anyone who does not come up to the patriotic standards of the profiteers and the other 100 percenters. The covert purpose of this proposition may be to provoke clashes between the demonstrating workers and the trouble seeking patriots, in order to get an occasion for using violence.

(For further information on this point see the article "With Drops of Blood" in this issue).

The only way to save the day undefiled for the workers of this country is to use it for the purposes indicated by the strikers of 1886 and the international labor congress.

Long live First of May, the universal labor day, the first day of spring, and, perhaps, the New Year's Day of the New Society.

The I. W. W. Prisoners

The mill of the capitalist courts keeps on grinding out verdicts and sentences. And the verdicts are "guilty" and the sentences are heavy. The I. W. W. men already in prison almost daily have "the pleasure" of shaking hands with newcomers who have just come through the mill.

And when they do shake hands, it is with a shriek of derision at so called "justice," as much as it is an outburst of joy to meet another fellow who was true to the colors.

As long as we retain our faith in the law and in the courts, and see them as institutions where evildoers are being dealt with, there is nothing more terrible to our spirit than being dragged into court. The ignominy of such a misfortune follows a man to the grave and makes him an outcast among men. But as we come in contact with these capitalist courts, with their mock fairness and sham solemnity, with which to impress the victims, the illusion vanishes, and we see them in their horrid nakedness of corruption. On the very atmosphere of

these courts is wafted to us an understanding of the fraud they are perpetrating on us. We feel, and we know that we are in the hands of impostors and mercenaries for whom we can have no respect, whom we must despise with all the power of our outraged spirits. As that understanding steals over us in court, it is hard for us to conceal our contempt enough to escape an additional punishment for "contempt of court." Sincere as we are ourselves, we keenly sense the corrupt intrigues of the courts, however cleverly these intrigues are wrapped in legal verbiage of Roman origin and ancient judicial forms.

And then, a stone rolls off our shoulders, and our face shines up with a smile. As we realize that we are not being tried in courts of justice but in the mock courts controlled by the enemies of society, the weight of ignominy on invisible wings leaves our shoulders and settles upon the prosecutor, the judge, the clerk, the jury, the news reporter, the prejudiced witnesses

and the "citizens in uniform," who attend our trials to terrorize the juries.

That explains why I. W. W. men feel so light in court and in jail. That explains why they sing and bear their heads erect as they march by in hand-cuffed troops.

When our enemies imprison us I. W. W. men, they only get our bodies. Our spirit they do not get, simply because we are innocent. Our spirits are free, never blushing with shame at the thought of dark deeds. In fact, most of us would rather be in jail with a clear conscience than change places with our persecutors and have their conscience. We shudder at the very thought of having their spirits.

Well, if that is the case, if the I. W. W. men are as happy as all that, while in jail, why bother about them, some will say. Why try to bail them out? Looking for a job, being broke and destitute, or slaving for a master is almost worse than being in jail. Are we not doing them an injustice by taking them away from a place where there are no economic cares?

Such silly talk! Those that indulge in it usually squeal like stuck pigs, if they themselves happen to get caught in a raid. Such talk reveals what some people call "dutch friendship," while others call it "irish friendship." We do not know which it is; we only know that we should hate to have many such "friends".

Life in jail is intended to be a terror and it is, even to the innocent. It is to a man what the cage is to the bird or the bear in the park. It robs him of life. It steals his young manhood. It shuts him off from the caresses of sweethearts or mothers, wives or children. It forbids him the free use of his will and his physical and mental powers. Jail is terrible, and we have no right to leave our innocent fellow workers there if we can buy them out with gold or secure their release with appeals. Do not let us try to escape our obligations to our fellows in jail with airy sophistry about "delivering them in a bunch" through the strength of our organization. Such "reasoning" only covers rank selfishness and faithlessness to friends. By actual demonstration we are proving that we can get some of them out

right now. We have bailed out two score or more of them. **But there are hundreds of them left in jail.** We must get them out or blush with shame.

There are tens of thousands of I. W. W. men reading these lines. There are thousands reading it who are not members. Among these thousands there surely are some who have not yet done their utmost personally, or called upon their friends who have property, liberty bonds or cash available. Pick out some prisoner to work for and see if you can get him out. Or organize bail and bond committees in every locality the same as we have done in Chicago, Seattle, New York, Detroit and some other places. Do you realize that if we the members alone contributed 10 dollars a piece as a loan we could bail them all out. Why don't we do it? It is a shame that we have not done it already. Those that have money in the bank could lend several times the amount to make up for those that are chronically broke or temporarily embarrassed. Do not wait to see what the other fellow does. Act yourself and do it today. The fellow workers in prison are wondering what is the matter with you.

We had better act before they begin to think we are only "four-flushers," and give up hope and consider the I. W. W. a mistake and a failure, unable to spur men to such insignificant sacrifice—if **lending** out a "tenspot" or more is to be called a sacrifice. If our I. W. W. faith is so weak that we can't part company with one or more ten dollar bills for a time, to restore a fellow worker to liberty, what then becomes of our slogan "an injury to one — an injury to all," a slogan with which we stand or fall as an organization. Is it mere talk? If you have nothing yourself, speak to your friends that have.

Prove your faith in the I. W. W. and yourself by remitting all you can spare today.

Lend the I. W. W. money or liberty bonds or property for bail purposes.

Donate all you can for general defense purposes. The "business" of the General Defense Committee is constantly increasing. We have 3 big appeals, the Chicago,

the Sacramento and the Wichita appeals, and trials going on or pending in scores of places.

People sometimes stake penniless prospectors, because they have faith in them, that they will make good and locate a gold mine.

Have you got faith enough in the I. W.

W. method of founding a new society to stake it to a few dollars today?

Send all funds, at once, to the secy-treas. of our General Defense Committee:

Wm. D. Haywood,
1001 W. Madison St.
Chicago, Ill.

25 to 40 Years

In our March issue we informed our readers that the jury in the Centralia case, hypnotized by the reign of terror, instituted by the Lumber Trust and other capitalist interests of the Northwest, turned in a half-witted verdict in the Centralia case, which was tried at Montesano, Wash., during the

forepart of this year. All the evidence went to prove that these men acted in self-defense, but the prosecution, representing the capitalist interests of the Northwest rather than the people of the State of Washington demanded that these men be found guilty, and the judge, with all the



DEFENDANTS IN CENTRALIA TRAGEDY TRIAL

This is a photograph, made outside the jail in Montesano, Wash., of the 11 men accused of killing Warren O. Grimm, one of the ex-service men who attacked the Industrial Workers' hall in Centralia on Armistice Day, 1919.

Standing, from left to right: Loren Roberts, James McInerney, Britt Smith, O. C. Bland, Bert Foulkner, Roy Becker.

Sitting: Michael Sheehan, John Lamb, Eugene Barnett, Bert Bland, Elmer Stuart Smith.

authority at his command, seems by every word and action have conveyed very strongly the thought to the jury that they must find these men guilty. The display of military uniforms and the atmosphere of terrorism surrounding them—all of it together was too strong for these rural jury-men. They fell for the powerful suggestion, and found seven of the men guilty of murder in the second degree.

The judge, true to the colors of the lumber trust rather than to the people he is supposed to serve, imposed the sentence to the tune of "treat them rough and tell them nothing," and sentenced the seven to imprisonment for 25 to 40 years.

Now, the remarkable fact is that six of the most influential labor organizations of the Northwest had sent down to Montesano a labor jury of six men, who attended the trial with instructions to render a verdict irrespective of the verdict of the regular jury.

The names of these trusted men of labor who acted as labor jury were: J. O. Craft, W. J. Read, Otto Newman, Theodore Mayer, E. W. Thrall and P. K. Mohr.

The jury met in The Labor Temple of Tacoma, Wash., on March the 15th. P. K. Mohr was elected chairman.

The following are the minutes of this memorable jury session:

1. On motion a secret ballot of guilty or not guilty was taken, the count resulting in unanimous "Not guilty."

2. Shall we give our report to the press? Verdict "Yes".

3. Was there a conspiracy to raid the I. W. W. hall on the part of the business interest of Centralia? Verdict, "Yes."

4. Was the I. W. W. hall unlawfully raided? Verdict, "Yes". The evidence introduced convinces us that an attack was made before a shot was fired.

5. Had the defendants a right to defend their hall? Verdict, "Yes". On a former occasion the I. W. W. hall was raided, furniture destroyed and stolen, ropes placed around their necks and they were otherwise abused and driven out of town by citizens armed with pick handles.

6. Was Warren O. Grimm a party to the conspiracy of raiding the I. W. W. hall? Verdict, "Yes." The evidence introduced convinces us that Warren O. Grimm participated in the raid of the I. W. W. hall.

7. To our minds the most convincing evidence that Grimm was in front of and raiding the I. W. W. hall with others, is the evidence of State Witness Van Gilder, who testified that he stood at the side

of Grimm at the Tower avenue, when according to his testimony, Grimm was shot. This testimony was refuted by five witnesses who testified that they saw Grimm coming wounded from the direction of the I. W. W. hall. It is not credible that Van Gilder, who was a personal and intimate friend of Grimm, would leave him when he was mortally wounded, to walk half a block alone and unaided.

Trial unfair and partial.

8. Did the defendants get a fair and impartial trial? Verdict, "No." The most damaging evidence of a conspiracy by the business men of Centralia of a raid on the I. W. W. hall was ruled out by the court and not permitted to go to the jury. This was one of the principal issues that the defense sought to establish.

Also the calling of the federal troops by Prosecuting Attorney Allen was for no other reason than to create atmosphere. On interviewing the judge, sheriff and prosecuting attorney, the judge and sheriff informed us that in their opinion the troops were not needed and that they were brought here without their consent or knowledge. In the interview Mr. Allen promised to furnish the substance of the evidence which in his opinion necessitated the presence of the troops the next morning, but on the following day he declined the information. He, however, did say that he did not fear the I. W. W., but was afraid of violence by the American Legion. This confession came after he was shown by us the fallacy of the I. W. W. coming armed to interfere with the verdict. Also the presence of the American Legion in large numbers in court was a factor to weigh against an impartial decision by the jury.

Signed:

Theodore Meyer, Everett Central Labor Council; **John O. Craft**, Seattle Metal Trades Council; **E. W. Thrall**, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Centralia; **W. J. Beard**, Tacoma Central Labor Council; **Otto Newman**, Portland Central Labor Council; **P. K. Mohr**, Seattle Central Labor Council.

What better evidence of "class justice" could we ask for than the fact that labor organizations, numbering together several hundred thousand members, find it necessary to send a special jury to attend a trial. That being the case there should be no surprise that the verdict of the two juries differ.

We all know in the innermost of our hearts that the sentenced men are innocent victims of capitalist justice. We all have nothing but the deepest contempt for the court and its proceedings. We all know that the verdict of the labor jury, being the verdict of true and honest men, who dared to be independent of the lumber trust and who did not fear its terrorism, is the truth, and we shall act accordingly.

Of course, the case of these 7 men will be appealed through all the courts, and it is conceivable, that the higher courts will reverse this infamous judgment. But even if they do not, we do not care whether these men were sentenced to 5, 10, 15 or 75 years.

They are not going to serve their terms! The people of the country are fast awakening to the fact that they are being robbed of their liberty by a conspiracy between the powers of evil, between the conscienceless swindlers that make up the capitalist class of this country and every other country. The people is not going to stand for it as much as five years longer. They are going to gather their power for a united attack

on the murderers and thieves in broadcloth that would enslave them. They are going to emancipate themselves and the courts of the people from the tyranny of these criminals, and thus set these men and all other innocent men free.

The verdict and the sentence in this case reflect the economic power of the capitalist class, particularly of the lumber "barons" (timberland swindlers). All we have to do to reverse this crazy verdict and this made-to-order sentence, is, to **organize all the workers industrially, and then assert our economic might.**

If you want to set these men free, build up the I. W. W.

The Great Railway Strike

It is not our purpose here to give any synopsis of the shifting scenes of the great railway strike. Be it enough to mention that the capitalist papers are making daily soundings in the ship of state, much as the carpenter daily sounds the ship at sea to find out how high the water is in the bilge. The reports of the soundings shift from hope to anxiety and back again, as the strike figures come in from New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, Omaha, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, etc.

In Washington there is poorly concealed commotion among the politicians of the profiteers and their subservient officialdom. Some legislators see in it "a red revolt," while others are busying themselves introducing bills carrying with them 10-15 years imprisonment for such offenses as this railway strike.

In many parts the troops are mobilized for strike duty and to protect the usual patriotic citizenry which takes pride in breaking strikes by workers who are brought to desperation by poverty.

Much fuss is being made by the kept press about this strike being an "outlaw" strike. They think they can bluff the workers back to work with this old bugaboo at a time when the whole people have nothing but contempt for the law and those who

make the laws and those who enforce them and execute them. Being an "outlaw" in these days of capitalist swindle, brazen class legislation, and controlled courts, scares nobody, so the strike keeps growing.

We believe it is the most remarkable strike in all labor's history. It is a double strike, for it is directed against both the employers and the unions of the strikers. If kept up indefinitely it means a revolution such as we have seen in Russia. In a short time it would break down American capitalism.

The old, sedate, highly paid, conservative, lobbying, leaders of the railroad brotherhoods are shocked beyond description. They are as frantic as the farmer whose pigs have broken through the fence and got into the melon patch. They are waving their hands in horror and shrieking in terror, sometimes calling in mildest flute tones, sometimes threatening with anathema—but all in vain. The strike grows.

What does it all signify?

The strike has a twofold significance and many lessons.

In the first place it is more than a strike. It is a revolt in a double sense. It is a revolt against the fierce exploiters and a revolt against the leaders of the railroad brotherhoods. It is an explosion caused by pent up suffering.

The railroadmen were so entangled in the bureaucratic measures of their brotherhood, in their craft constitution and their by-laws, and they were so firmly held in their place by the sick and death benefit attachments, that everybody believed they would never be able to break away from it. The employers were so firmly convinced that their friends, the brotherhood officials, who were getting as big salaries as some railroad presidents, had the men completely under control, and so the officials themselves believed.

So the employers and the officials played with them. When the men asked for more pay they fed them on postponements and promises. Time and again the men allowed themselves to be cheated, but each time the resentment increased—and then came the explosion. As is usual with such explosions, the match that set off the accumulated explosive was an insignificant incident, the discharge of a conductor. But the real cause of the strike is the fact that the railroadmen are being cheated out of a living. Their wages are so small that if they dress, they can't eat, and if they eat they cannot dress. What with rising house rent, etc. their position was getting desperate.

The strike is another sign of the constantly progressing collapse of craft unionism and of capitalism. Capitalist society does not function. It is like an old Ingersoll watch that has seen its day. It runs a little bit, and then it stops again. It is only fit for junk.

The purpose of any society is to fill the needs of its members of food, clothing and shelter in the first place, and many other things in the second place. If it fails in this respect, the members of that society want to discard it and devise a new form of society. That has happened time and again in history. Capitalism now utterly fails in supplying us with what we need. The railroad men suffered keenly from this progressive collapse of capitalism, and they revolted. So keenly did they suffer that they revolted against their own unions and their leaders, and this revolt also marks the progressive collapse of craft unionism.

Craft unionism no longer can save its

members from the ravages of collapsing capitalism, and therefore it, too, collapses. The defection of the Canadian workers last year, when they formed "One Big Union", was the beginning of that collapse. The endorsement of industrial unionism by the socialist and communist parties was the second blow. The complete failure of four of the biggest strikes of history, the steel strike, the coal strike, the stockyards strike and the longshoremens strike was a series of blows from which the A. F. of L. will never recover. The printers' strike in New York, which bared such scandals and which ended by the men being driven back to work by their own strike breaking officials, exposed A. F. of L. rottenness more than anything that preceded it, and speeded on the collapse.

Craft unionism is beaten. The workers have lost faith in Gompers and his system of friendly relations and sacred contracts between capital and labor. It was only a question of time when the great collapse should start. The railwaymen had been fooled a bit too long. It was a weak point. And here the great crash came.

All labor fakirdom is now on its legs like a swarm of centipeds under a quickly overturned stone, scurrying in all directions. Their life as labor misleaders is at stake.

Again the workers call for One Big Union and swear never to return to slavery under the "brotherhoods" or "internationals". And they mean it. They are willing to sacrifice their chances of a brotherhood coffin; they are willing to leave their 16-19 thousand dollar a year officials in control of their large treasuries, provided they can become free from them and the brotherhood slavery. They are thoroughly tired of collusion between their officials and their employers.

If, contrary to our hopes, the strike should collapse and their proposed One Big Union not materialize at this time, it will be only because they have not in advance mapped out the One Big Union of their industry. An industrial union of such magnitude cannot be built in a day. Such work must be planned and executed by true and experienced men of knowledge and ability with

plenty of material to do it with, and plenty of time to do it in.

The I. W. W. has its Railroad Workers Industrial Union No. 600. It claims to be an industrial union, and so it is. But the trouble with No. 600 is that it is only a recruiting union so far. It has been too busy signing up individual recruits to get ready for such big business as this railroad strike with its cry for One Big Union. It has no maps or charts of the One Big Union in the railroad industry. It has no books or pamphlets that could serve as a guide for the strikers in changing from the craft form to the industrial form.

Let this serve as a warning for other industrial unions. Get ready for business. The steel strike caught us unprepared. So did this railway strike. What next?

However, we can make the best of a bad situation by starting the work right now. In the measure that we do prepare we will be able to absorb new groups that will otherwise return under the craft union yoke.

We are in the same position as the packers would be if they had no cattle, sheep,

or hoggens at the stockyards. Suppose a shipment of 100,000 cattle, 100,000 sheep and 100,000 hogs were to be unloaded by the train crews outside the slaughter houses—and no pens. Oh boy, what a mess you would have!

We hope nobody takes offense at the comparison, but that is exactly the position we I. W. W. men are in. Hundreds of thousands of men are dropped off outside our doors, and we cannot take care of them as we should. We have no pens—no industrial union, no district organizations, no local organizations, no branches planned for them, and we have no blueprints ready for these “pens” and “corrals”.

Like the packers would run the risk of losing most of the cattle, sheep and hogs while they are building the pens, so we run the risk of losing most of the men while we are mapping out their One Big Union and writing their handbook.

These are days when events succeed one another in rapid order. He who is not wide awake will soon find himself sailing in the wake of somebody else's boat instead of leading.

“We Told You So”

An Open Letter at the Expelled New York Assemblymen

The five Socialist Party assemblymen, who were recently expelled from the assembly of the State of New York have not yet come to the I. W. W. for sympathy. They know better. We told them so many years ago.

Before us we have on the table a 78-page pamphlet issued by the Socialist Labor Party in 1907. It is called “As to Politics”. It is a series of letters on the question of socialist politics by several writers and the answers thereto by Daniel De Leon, the late editor of the Daily People.

The first of these letters against politics was written by John Sandgren, the present editor of the One Big Union Monthly. Throwing all modesty aside, we here and now pat ourselves on our editorial back and point with pride to the argument we there presented against political action, and re-

print part of the argument as a taunt to the five New York assemblymen, who are now travelling round the country, picking up leaves for a crown of martyrdom, and as proof of the fact that we told them so long ago.

Here follow a few excerpts from the letter in question:

“San Francisco, Cal., Nov., 1906.

“The most important issue confronting the working class today is the question of the proper method, the proper tactics, to adopt in order to attain the aim upon which even the most hostile factions agree, namely the overthrow of the capitalist system. A discussion of this kind leads us immediately to the question: shall it be accomplished through political organization, or through economic organization, or through both. It is imperative that this question should be openly, honestly, and widely discussed, in order to arrive at a solid basis upon which all workingmen may unite; it is imperative that the cloudiness and uncertainty which now divides revolutionary workingmen and frustrates in part their best energies and efforts, should be dispelled. Having very decided opinions on the subject, I beg leave

to submit my views, hoping they will be received in the same good faith as they are given without prejudice or rancor, solely with the aim of benefitting the working class movement."

Hereupon the writer goes on to propose an amendment to the I. W. W. preamble, to **strike out all reference to politics** from same—and continues:

"It is not in order to dodge or to escape a difficult situation with which two I. W. W. conventions have unsuccessfully wrangled, that this amendment is submitted for discussion. It is submitted because **political activity may justly be considered of little or no value** for the overthrow of the capitalist system."

Next the letter proceeds to prove with figures that the political socialists are deceiving the workers when they hold out the hope of getting the majority at the ballot box and capturing the government by voting. If from the ranks of working class voters are subtracted foreigners who are not citizens, the negroes in the South, who are illegally disfranchised, and the migratory workers, such as seafaring men, agricultural workers, lumber workers, miners, construction workers and industrial floaters there is not enough left to make a majority at the ballot box, even if they all could be united and be driven to the ballot box.

(Later the seceders from the socialist party, the communists, have in their press admitted that the workers are not in the majority at the ballot box, 40 per cent of the total vote being a farmer vote.)

The cause of the political socialists stands or falls with that question. If the working class can not get a majority at the ballot box, what moral right have these political socialists to drag the workers into such a useless adventure as trying to vote themselves into power? Have the five ex-assemblymen settled this fundamental question with their conscience? If they knowingly deceive the workers they are in the same boat with "the business man" who keeps on doing business after he is helplessly bankrupt, cheating his creditors.

The letter in question continues:

"It is proven, then, that the working class does not outnumber the ruling class at the ballot box. And a miss in politics is as good as a mile. To fall short 100 votes of a majority is, for all practical

purposes, as bad as getting only 100 votes in all.

"But this argument against the value of the ballot as a working class weapon is so strong that I can afford to be generous. I will grant, for the sake of argument that we do outnumber the ruling class at the ballot box.

"Can we, then, judging by past and present success, entertain the hope of gathering, in any reasonable time, that problematical working class majority upon one program, under one revolutionary banner? Probably not. The ruling class holds the strings of the bread and butter of millions of slaves so tightly that they can not vote for revolution. Furthermore the ruling class controls the schools and poisons the young minds of the children. It owns the press and controls the minds of the fullgrown. It controls the pulpit, and there pollutes the mind of child and man. What becomes of your working class majority before these facts?

"Again, granting for the sake of argument, that we now outnumber the master class at the ballot box, is there any reasonable justification for hoping that the master class will cease to impose new restrictions upon the right to vote, when that has been their course for the last ten years, as witness Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia and other states? Or is there any guarantee whatsoever that our ruling class will not resort to gerrymandering or election geometry, that is, redistributing of districts and representation as has been done in Germany, Sweden and other countries, in order to curtail the effect of a working class vote?

"Granting, again, that we not only outnumber the ruling class, but have actually succeeded in getting a majority vote, **what hope is there that they will not count us out**, as is being done in every election, not only against workingmen's parties but between the masters themselves? What would it matter if we had the vote 'backed up with an economic organization'? As long as we insist on accomplishing our aim 'legally,' so long can the master endure the game of showing us black on white that we are in the minority, and if we were to attempt the 'backing up' of this minority, we would be 'illegal' in the eyes of the ruling class anyhow, as long as they are in power.

"Having granted so many impossible things, for the sake of argument, let us grant one more. Let us assume that a revolutionary political party carries a national election, and is allowed to take possession of all offices from President down. What will be the result?

"As has so frequently been demonstrated, that day of our political victory would be our political funeral. The function of government is to make and enforce laws for the running of the capitalist system and to safe-guard it against all comers. Or in other words, the sole purpose and function of government is to regulate the relations springing from the private ownership of the means of production, and everything connected therewith. But the new form of society, which we are preparing for, does not recognize this private ownership, it proposes to organize production and distribution on collective lines, a function which cannot possibly be filled by politicians, by a President, a Secretary of War, a Secretary of the Navy, a House of Representatives, a Senate, a Custom House Department, an Internal Revenue Department, etc. Like Shakespeare's Moor, the politicians would find their occupation gone. There would be positively nothing for them to do, unless they were to continue to run society on capitalist lines, the very thing they were supposedly elected to discontinue. Neither can it reasonably be suggested that these men, thus elected, should instantly sit down and reorganize society on co-operative lines. Society may be **reformed** by

(Continued on Page 50)

THE BACKGROUND OF CENTRALIA

By RALPH CHAPLIN

IN ORDER to get the truth of the Centralia conspiracy it is necessary to understand the circumstances leading up to the tragedy on Armistice Day, 1919. There are two distinct viewpoints from which this unfortunate affair may be observed: That of the lumber interests, which is to isolate the incident from its antecedent circumstances and make it a "plain murder case"; and that of working people of the Northwest generally to consider all the facts in the case in order to find out, not only how the tragedy occurred, but what brought it about as well.

It is well to state here that the lumber interests, with the aid of the trial judge, the prosecuting attorneys and the press, succeeded in keeping from the consideration of the jury, all but the actual happenings on November 11th. The long and unbroken chain of threats, raids, deportations and murders perpetrated against the I. W. W. boys before they made a last stand for their lives in their union hall, was objected to by the lumber trust's attorneys and ruled out by the lumber trust's lackey on the judicial bench. In this manner men who were simply defending their lives and property from a mob were shown to be deliberate and wanton assassins, while their tormentors were held up to the world as splendid examples of unquestioned and persecuted patriotism.

The efforts of the defense to prove the existence of a conspiracy on the part of the lumber interests to raid and demolish union halls and to murder their occupants were painstakingly ignored by the press.

The prosecution claimed that on November 11th a dozen or more union loggers, acting in accordance with a prearranged plan, had fired into a parade, killing and wounding several ex-service men without warning and without excuse. It was made to appear that this deed was an act of wilful and malicious murder. That is as far as the prosecution sought to go. Just what the handful of loggers hoped to gain by causing the death of unoffending paraders the prosecution neglected to state. Also they failed to explain the embarrassing fact that at least two of the "unoffending paraders" carried coils of rope and that gas-pipe, guns and bayonets came into evidence as soon as the dirty work was about to be started.

There is no doubt that the whole affair is the outcome of a struggle—a class struggle, if you please—between the union loggers and the lumber interests; the former seeking to organize the workers in the woods, and the latter fighting this movement with all the means at its disposal.

In this light the Centralia affair does not appear as an isolated incident but rather an incident in an industrial conflict, little known and less understood, between the lumber barons and the loggers of the Pacific Northwest. This viewpoint alone will place Centralia in its proper perspective and enable one to trace the tragedy back to the circumstances and conditions that gave it birth.

But was there a conspiracy on the part of the lumber interests to commit murder and violence in an effort to drive organized labor from its domain? The facts themselves will prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that such a conspiracy existed, that it was expressly designed for the above mentioned purpose and that the Armistice Day shooting was the direct outgrowth of this same premeditated plan. It will furthermore be shown how this conspiracy is the concern of every union man and woman in the country. Believe it or not, just as you please; but read.

* * *

The Pacific Northwest is world famed for its timber. The first white explorers to set foot upon its fertile shore were no doubt awed by the magnitude and grandeur of its boundless stretches of virgin forests. Nature has never endowed any section of our fair world with such an immensity of kingly trees. Towering into the sky to unbelievable heights they stand as living monuments to the fecundity of natural life. Imagine, if you can, the vast wide region of the Northwest hills, slopes and valleys—covered with myriads of the fir, spruce and cedar; raising their verdant crests a hundred, two hundred or two hundred and fifty feet into the air!

When Columbus first set foot on the uncharted continent these threes were already ancient. There they stood, straight, silent and majestic, crowning the rugged landscape with superlative beauty, some of these with green and foam-flecked streams purling here and there at their feet, overtopped only by the snow capped mountains; waiting for the hand of man to put them to the multitudinous uses of modern civilization. Imagine, if you can, the first explorer, gazing awe-stricken down those "calm cathedral isles" wondering at the lavish bounty of our Mother Earth in supplying her children with such inexhaustible resources.

But little could the first explorer know that the criminal clutch of greed was soon to seize these forests, guard them from the human race with bayonets, hangman's ropes and legal statutes; and use them, robber baron like, to exact unimaginable tribute from the men and women of the world who needed them that they might live. Little did the first explorer dream that the day would come when individuals would claim private ownership of that which bounteous nature had travailed through centuries to bestow upon humankind.

But that day has come, and with it the struggle between master and man that was to result in Centralia—or possibly many Centralias.

It seems the most logical thing in the world to believe that the natural resources of the earth, upon which the race depends for food, clothing and shelter, should be owned collectively by the race instead of being the private property of a few social parasites. It seems that reason would preclude the

possibility of any other arrangement, that it would be considered as absurd for individuals to lay claim to forests, mines, railroads and factories as it would be for individuals to lay claim to the ownership of the sunlight that warms us or the air we breathe. But the poor human race, in its bungling efforts to learn how to live in our beautiful world, appears to be destined to learn only from bitter experience that the private ownership of the means of life is both criminal and disastrous.

Lumber is one of the basic industries—one of the industries mankind never could have done without. The whole structure of what we call civilization is built upon wooden timbers, ax-hewn or machine finished as the case may be. Without the product of the forests humanity could never have learned the use of fire, the primitive bow and arrow or the bulging galleys of ancient commerce. Without the firm and fibrous flesh of the mighty monarchs of the forest men never would have had barges for fishing or weapons for the chase; they would not have had dwellings, temples, cities, furniture nor fittings nor roofs above their heads. Wood is one of the most primitive and indispensable of human necessities. Without its use we would still be groping in the gloom and misery of early savagery, suffering from the cold of outer space and defenseless in the midst of a harsh and hostile environment.

So it happened that the first pioneers in the northern forests were forced to bare their arms and match their strength with the wooded wilderness. At first the subjugation of the virgin forests was a social effort. The lives and future prosperity of the settlers must be made secure from the raids of the Indians and the inclemency of the elements. Manfully did they labor till their work was done. But this period did not last long, for the tide of immigration was sweeping westwards over the sun-baked prairies to the promised land in the golden West.

Towns sprang up like magic, new trees were felled, saw mills erected and huge logs, in ever-increasing numbers, driven down the foaming torrents each year at spring time. The country was new, the market for lumber constantly growing and expanding. But the monopolist was unknown and the lynch-mobs of the lumber trust still sleeping in the womb of the Future.

So passed the not unhappy period when opportunity was open to everyone, when freedom was dear to the hearts of all and the spirit of real Americanism was born. Patriotism, in these days was not a mask for profiteers and murderers were not permitted to hide their bloody hands in the folds of their nation's flag.

But modern capitalism was creeping like a black curse upon the land, stealing, coercing, cajoling, defrauding; it spread from its plague center in Wall street leaving misery, class antagonism and resentment in its trail. The old free America of our fathers was undergoing a profound change. Equality of opportunity was doomed. A new social alignment was being created. Monopoly was loosed upon the

land. Fabulous fortunes were being made as wealth was being centered into fewer and fewer hands. Modern capitalism was entrenching itself in preparation of the final struggle for world domination. In due course of time the ruthless and insatiable social parasites of the East, foreseeing that the forests of Maine, Michigan and Minnesota were shortly to be exhausted, began to look to the woods of the Northwest with covetous eyes and to reach out for them with unscrupulous hands.

The history of the acquisition of the forests of Washington, Montana, Idaho, Oregon and California is a long sordid story of thinly veiled robbery and intrigue. The methods of the lumber barons in invading and seizing its "holdings" did not differ greatly, however, from those of the steel and oil kings, the railroad magnates or any of the other industrial potentates who acquired great wealth by pilfering America and peonizing its people. The whole story proceeding was disgraceful, high-handed and treacherous, and only made possible by reason of the blindness of the population, drugged with the vanishing hope of "success" and too confident of the continued possession of its blood-bought liberties. And so the lumber barons were unhindered in their infamous work of debauchery, bribery, murder and brazen fraud.

As a result the monopoly of the Northwestern woods became an established fact. The lumber trust came into "its own." The new social alignment was complete, with the idle, absentee overlord at one end and the migratory and possessionless lumber jack at the other. The parasites had appropriated to themselves the standing timber of the Northwest. But the brawny loggers whose labor had made possible the development of the industry was given, as his share of the spoils, a crumby bundle and a rebellious heart. The masters had undisputed control of the timber of the country, three quarters of which is located in the Northwest; but the slaves who felled the trees, drove the logs, dressed, finished and loaded the lumber were left in a state of helpless dependency from which they could only extricate themselves by means of organization. And it is this effort to form a union and to establish union headquarters that led to the tragedy at Centralia.

The lumber barons had not only achieved a monopoly of the woods but a perfect feudal domination of the woods as well. Within their domain banks, ships, railways and mills bore their private insignia, and politicians, Employers' Associations, preachers, newspapers, fraternal orders and judges and gunmen were always at their beck and call. Their power is tremendous and their profits would ransom a king. Naturally they did not intend to surrender power or profits menaced by a mass of weather-beaten slaves in stag shirts and overalls, and so the struggle waxed fiercer just as the lumber jack learned to contend for living conditions and adequate remunerations. It was the old, old conflict of human rights against property rights; let us see how they compared in strength.

The following extract from a document entitled "The Lumber Industry" by the Honorable Herbert Knox Smith and published by the U. S. Department of Commerce (Bureau of Corporations) will give some idea of the holdings and influence of the lumber trust.

"Ten monopoly groups, aggregating only one thousand, eight hundred and two holders, monopolized one thousand, two hundred and eight billion eight hundred million (1,208,800,000,000) board feet of standing timber—each a foot square and an inch thick. These figures are so stupendous that they are meaningless without a hackneyed device to bring their meaning home. These one thousand, eight hundred and two timber business monopolists held enough standing timber, an indispensable natural resource to yield the planks necessary (over and above manufacturing wastage) to make a floating bridge more than two feet thick and more than five miles wide from New York to Liverpool. It would supply one inch planks for a roof over France, Germany and Italy. It would build a fence eleven miles high along our entire coast line. All monopolized by one thousand, eight hundred and two

holders, or interests more or less interlocked. One of those interests—a grant of only three holders—monopolized at one time two hundred and thirty seven billion, five hundred million (237,500,000,000) feet which would make a column one foot square and three million miles high. Although controlled by only three holders, that interest comprised over eight per cent of all the standing timber in the United States at that time."

The above illuminating figures, quoted from "The I. W. W. in the Lumber Industry" by James Rowan, will give some idea of the magnitude and power of the lumber trust.

Opposing this colossal aggregation of wealth and cussedness were the thousands of hard driven and exploited lumberworkers in the woods and sawmills. These had neither wealth nor influence—nothing but their hard, bare hands and a growing sense of solidarity. And the masters of the forests were more afraid of this solidarity than anything else in the world. And they fought it more bitterly, as events will show. Centralia is only one of the incidents of this struggle between owner and workers.



THE BACKGROUND OF CENTRALIA

Here are the men who get out the lumber of which ships and houses are built, and from which our furniture is made.

An all-I. W. W. crew raising a spar tree, 160 feet long, 22½ inches at top and 54½ inches at bottom, at Index, Wash.

Evolution of Logging Conditions on the Northwest Coast

By Ralph Winstead

In order to get the proper perspective of conditions on the Northwest Coast, where today the I. W. W. are waging one of their fiercest battles, one must understand the circumstances under which the chief industry of this community (The Lumber Industry) developed.

All during the earlier settlement of the coast lands of Washington the foundations for the gigantic lumber trust were being laid. Timber lands were being gobbled up and wholesale frauds, thefts and brutalities were perpetrated in order that individuals and companies should gain possession of the giant trees.

To understand the gobbling up process and the lack of resistance which organized robbery met with, it is necessary to be acquainted with the historical background of the labor and reform struggle which was waged in the early eighteen hundreds and to know what was the outcome of that struggle.

During and after the Revolutionary war, there was in the United States, a group of so called revolutionists that had a program which demanded liberty of opportunity to all, workers and property owners together. The chief fruits of the agitation which this group waged was some political reforms and the free school system, together with the purchase of Louisiana and the West and the inauguration of the "free land to settlers" program.

All this built up and supported the idea that every man had an equal chance at the good things of life, so the early settlers in Washington territory were firm believers in individual freedom — let the best man win and all the outworn and thread-bare formulas that are hurled at us by the reactionary capitalist organs of today.

THE FIRST SAW MILLS

The first trading company was of course the iniquitous Hudson Bay outfit with posts and forts scattered along the coast and up the Columbia River. It was to supply these posts with lumber that the first sawmill was established on the Columbia a few miles above Old Fort Nisqually about 1846.

This same mill was later transferred to the Puget Sound district and was set up near Olympia on the Dechutes River. At best it was a crude affair run by water power yet it was a vast improvement over the old backbreaking whipsaw methods which were necessary before it was established.

The third mill was also on the Columbia and was established to furnish timbers for southern California trade. The advent of gold mining and the feverish rush to the California gold fields established a demand for timber and lumber and in 1850 to 1854 sawmills were established in many parts of the sound district. Among these mills was Yesler's Seattle mill and the Commencement Bay mill near the site of Tacoma, Henderson Bay, Port Gamble, Port Madison and Steilacoom followed suit.

Logging operations in these early times were not distinct from the mill work as logs were fallen as close to the mill as they could be found. Mill-hands would help with the logging and the loggers would enter the mills and help the sawyers with their work. Everything was of the crudest. The axe was the only tool used in falling timber and oxen and skids furnished the transportation which got the logs to the water where they could be towed over to the mills.

Necessarily under these primitive conditions only the timber which was close to the water of Puget Sound had any value. The hillsides which were covered with giant trees right down to the water's edge were the first to be assailed. Jack screws were used to roll the unweildy logs into the bays or into the skid roads where the oxen could get at them, and pull them down to the water.

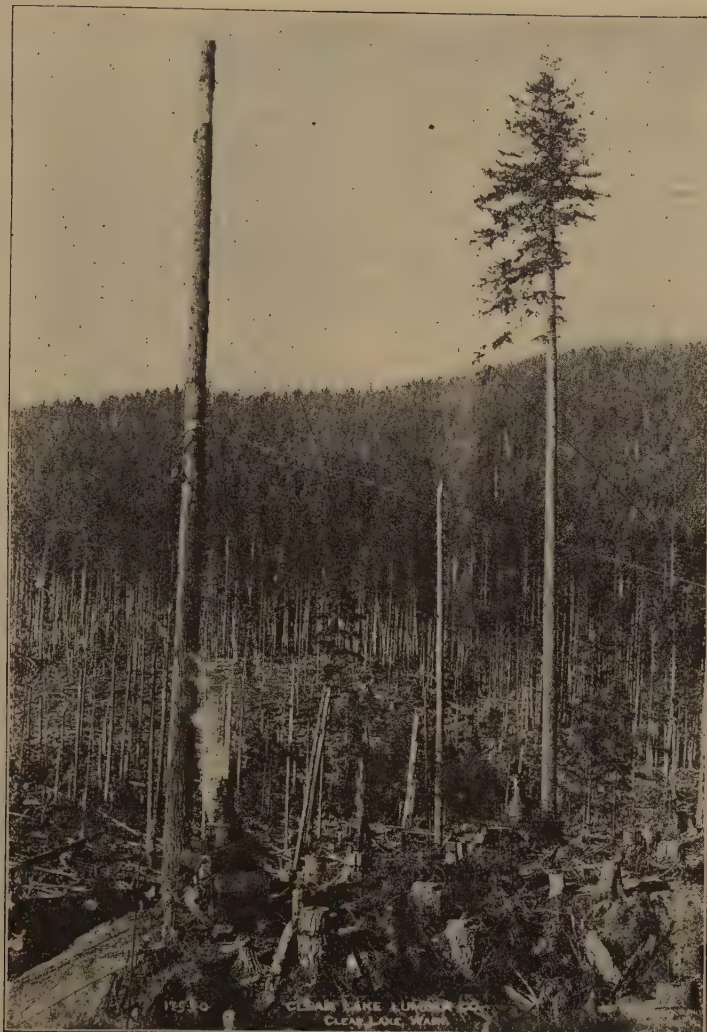
CONDITIONS IN THE EARLY CAMPS

The conditions in the early camps were terrible. Twelve hours was the average work day and the accommodations for the men were of the worst. Big bunkhouses were provided, built of logs and poles. In the center of the room was the open fire built on the ground. An opening was left in the roof to allow the smoke to escape. Puncheon floors extended up to the "fireplace", and ranged along the walls were the rough bunks with slab "springs". Double bunks they were in most cases and often were three stories high. At the big center fire the cook prepared the meals and the men ate in the bunk house seated on the bench that ran around the edge of the bunks. On the rafters of the smoky building hung the dirty sweat stained garments of the loggers and the fire furnished the incinerator which consumed indiscriminately tobacco juice, food leftovers, and cast off clothing.

The Indians were largely exploited in these lumber camps. Robbed by the gin peddling thieves of the Hudson Bay Co. they fell easy victims to the slave drivers of the woods and mills. Whiskey was the golden goal which led the simple siwash to sweat 12 hours a day for an unnecessary master. So great were the indignities and brutalities heaped upon the suffering Indian population that at last they rose in revolt and a period of Indian wars called forth military protection for the exploiters and the women and children of the settlers. The tales of Indian atrocities was poured out in such volume that even yet one shudders to think of massacres and fiendish torturings which were attributed to the Indians at that time. Publicity faking is no new art to the labor exploiter.

SWINDLE—THE BASIS OF THE LUMBER BARON'S WEALTH

It was when it was seen that the lumber industry was to be a permanent thing that the timber grab-



WHERE THE LUMBER WORKERS TOIL

bing commenced. Many methods were used both within the law and quite outside it. Among the legal methods used was the hoary one of timber and land grants to compensate for industrial development. For the act of building and operating a mill a company would be given immense tracts of timber without any regulation of the operations by the giver whatever. Then timber land could be bought of the territorial government under what was known as the script law. Hundreds of thousands of acres were purchased by script so that this land actually changed hands for a few cents an acre. Timber claims could be located and by living on them for certain lengths of time titles could be acquired. Timber companies bought many of these claims after they were proved up on for a dollar or two per acre.

As these early lumber capitalists were not satisfied with the unlimited opportunities that lay within the law for the acquisition of timber lands, fraudulent methods were much more prevalent than

legal processes. False entries was a favorite method of operation.

The timber agents would gather up the crew of some trader or schooner and march them up to the land office to register their claims. The specifications were furnished the sailors and all that they would do, would be to file their claims under the names furnished along with the specifications.

When the time came around for proving up, the agents of the company would gather up another group of floaters and, swearing to the conditions having been fulfilled, the second group would gain title to the land that was filed on by the first group, and of course all this land was transferred to the company that had engineered the deal. It was easy pickin's for a cheap drunk. Anybody could get the price of a night's carouse by staking—on paper—a few hundred acres of timberland.

Then the acquisition of timber grants for supposed industrial development was a fruitful source of graft. Companies would promise to install an

industrial plant in return for so much timber land and upon the receipt of title deeds a "plant" would be installed the total use of which in a productive way was nothing.

Again, private settlers, who had carefully lived up to the laws in regards to proving up their claims, often were stubborn when it was desired that they should sell to the "company". Sometimes they wanted almost as much as the timber was worth for their land. Means had to be used to force them to sell and many a shack was torched and many a settler beaten in order to enlighten him as to the method of procedure in business.

A beneficent Federal Government decided to allow a transfer privilege on land grants. A company securing a few thousand acres of worthless desert land could then transfer their grant to the finest timber land on the coast, exchanging their worthless tract for timberland in this entirely legitimate gold brick scheme. School land frauds and grafts of a thousand kinds were the order of the day, and so the great natural resources of the section were gobbled by the wily few, in obedience to the dictum that each man had an equal chance "to rob," and if he took it not that was his own fault.

EARLY LOGGING METHODS

During this period of land grabbing some important changes took place in logging methods and in the conditions surrounding the logger. Naturally the timber surrounding the mills was soon cut as was that which could be fallen into the water. Transportation of the big logs became a problem that was solved but slowly.

The skid road of a few hundred yards was used and the "Bull Puncher" with his goad made his appearance. Logs were cut and "geed" into the skid-roads where they were hauled down to the water by long strings of oxen or bulls. The banks of the streams were logged as well as the inner borders of the lakes and the Sound.

A story is told of two men of this period who met and were discussing their status:

"What yuh doin' Bill?"

"Punchin' a road full o' bulls."

"How many yuh got?"

"Dunno. When I unyoke 'em at night I stack up seven cords of yoke!"

It was not long before donkey engines were introduced to pull the logs down the skid roads and the oxen were used to get the logs into the skid ways. Falling saws were introduced in the seventies and eighties and became universally used.

In the mean time some change had occurred in the accommodations which were afforded the men. Bunk houses were built out of lumber not because of the greater comfort to the men but because it was a cheaper and quicker method of construction. Separate cook houses were installed and stoves made their appearance. Each improvement was put in solely because it proved more economical to the owners. The men carried their own blankets. In most cases they had to rustle their own mattresses

and the spruce twig bed was much in evidence. Bunking accommodations and hours of labor remained as before, and the lot of a logger was so low that they were looked upon as unworthy the friendship of "civilized" human beings.

The earliest lumber workers had been the settler and the siwash, but with the securing of a permanent position as an industry a new element was introduced into the woods. The mental attitude of the first workers had been easy to grasp. The settler wanted to earn a few dollars to enable him to buy provisions and tools so that he might clear up his land. Then he would leave the woods forever. He had no interest in improving the conditions under which he worked. The siwash wanted a few dollars for whiskey and the beastly conditions under which he lived were never drawn to his attention. He knew no better. His only panacea was in the bottle.

The new woodsmen were loggers from the east. State of Mainers, sprinkled with men from Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, formed the nucleus of the new force. Yet these men also seemed to have no energy left for the fight for better conditions. Some of them, coming from families of loggers and others having followed the occupation for years, they had developed a peculiar psychology which was an adaptation of the prevalent way of looking at things.

The inherent right of each individual to take advantage of circumstances as they came to him was the dominant note. Individualism kept the loggers apart, and since education and intelligent knowledge of their position was not their property, their emulation and their respect was given to the man who was the physical superior. The camp bully got the best of things and many a wild tale of personal battles and individual combat can be told of the old time woodsmen.

The burley logger, skillful in his strength, was looked up to by his fellows and all the energy which might have been used to betterment of social conditions was expended in the seeking of personal gain or privilege.

Conditions remained in the same primitive state with individual animosities taking the place of class conscious action thru many stages of the mechanical development of the industry. The ox was replaced by the donkey or cable system. Newer and better methods were introduced and together with the speed up system the productivity of the men was in some instances made ten or twelve times the original amount. Yet the same slavery and lack of understanding existed amongst the workers. Hopeless periodical drunks as many of them were, they could see no remedy for the perverted hopeless lives that they eked out. Timber beasts — slough hogs — they even gloried in the reputation which they had for bestiality.

CHANGE IN INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

In the meantime important changes had taken place in the ranks of the different companies that were the exploiters of these slaves of circumstance.

They had warred upon each other in the "free competitive system" which had been announced as freedom's herald. Price cutting — rebate wars etc, had proven ruinous to the operators, and they became convinced that their mutual salvation lay in combining into some form of Association so that they might act together for each others' benefit rather than help to destroy each other. The One Big Union of the Lumber Bosses was the outcome, and the Lumbermens Association has played a tremendous part in the social development of the district, from the moment of its inception.

Like all its fellows, this organization is for the purpose of capitalistic sabotage — the conscious withdrawal of efficiency from the field of production for the purpose of gain. They controlled the output of timber — and have also tried to control the importation of ideas into the heads of the loggers who are in their employ. The Lumber Trust became the dominating figure in local and National politics, as played by the district. With their henchmen in all the high places, they with their tremendous start of organization seemed to be entrenched in an impregnable position. The only attempt made to challenge their power was made by those same lowly, despised workers. They, too, became awakened to their true position in society and threw off the enslaving fiction that the individual could achieve freedom at the expense of his fellow and joined hands in the only organization that has attempted battle with the Lumber Trust and lived.

During the introduction and adaptation of machinery to the logging woods, new types of men were introduced into the bunk houses and cook shacks of the "Barony". Foreigners came to take the places that the native born refused. The rangy Scandinavian, the swarthy Italian and the stocky Slav drifted into the comradeship of misery that was of the woods. Some of them brought with them strange ideas of social ideas of social consciousness—of class distinction, of loyalty to their fellow workers. But this way of looking at things had little effect on the customs of the individual logger.

The camp bully still was to be found, and individual privilege was still the way up for the mass. It is hard to describe such an intangible thing as this generally accepted attitude of mind; yet it is in the development of a different psychology that the I. W. W. has performed its greatest work. Without a different view point no change for permanent benefit would be possible. In fact better camp conditions could not have been given to the men by charitable employers without the men first achieving the new psychology of solidarity and social help.

THE FIRST "IMPROVEMENTS" IN THE LOGGING CAMPS

As an example of the social apathy which held the logger in its grip one could give numerous instances, but one or two will suffice to show the dearth of social feeling and appreciation which the

I. W. W. had to combat with their philosophy of solidarity and with their economic theories of workers' control.

The Whitney Logging Co., a new concern, started operations in the fall of 1910 at Blind Slough, Ore. They decided to establish a camp at least bearable for human beings. A steam heated bunk house, a dry room with racks and lines so that the men could hang their sweaty, steaming garments in some other place than their sleeping quarters to dry, a toilet with regular toilet bowls and flush tanks,—these were some of the improvements that the hated wobblies have since fought for and secured.

The steam heat was a mechanical failure. The radiators were removed and the big stove was installed in the center of the room again. The workers coming in at night would hang their damp clothes in the dry house. Some physical hulk entering the dry room would find the clothes of another worker hanging close to the stove. With a callousness that it is hard to understand he would jerk the offending garment from the desirable place and hurl it into a corner. Not once did this occur but many times. It became impossible to leave clothes in the dry house with any certainty that they would be dried. The men took to hanging them in their sleeping quarters where they could be watched. Soon the dry house fire was discontinued—the men had failed to take advantage of it.

Some individuals either out of spite or ignorance failed to use the toilets properly. By standing on the seats the toilets were befouled beyond possibility of proper use. They were all torn out. Inside of nine months the company was running its camp on the same barbaric system that was prevalent elsewhere. The men had no conception of anything better.

Much of the change which has taken place can be accounted for by prohibition. Not that it is impossible to secure liquor, for bootleggers have ever plied their trade surreptitiously, but with the doing away of the saloons the social centers of vice were destroyed, and the worker was not compelled to patronize the bars in order to mingle with his fellows. Booze was a sedative that deadened the pain and discontent of the worker with his surroundings, and with the elimination of that sedative the workers individually voiced their disapproval of conditions. It was prohibition that paved the way for the social teachings of the I. W. W.

Under the prevalent way of looking at the questions of life from an individualistic point of view, everyone was tinged with self-forwardness and a lack of appreciation of action along lines of class welfare. The logger had few of the ties which other workers have which bind them to society and impose a social vision, even tho a limited one, on the individualistic way of looking at things.

The man with the family ties which nature deems necessary for both individual and social development is forced to soften his views of individual action to some extent and submerge his personal tastes in that of his family group. The loggers were

nearly every one cheated out of all possibility of a wedded life. Each lived for himself alone. Living in camps, segregated from women, they developed many abnormalities that were caused by the thwarting of a natural sex instinct. Their sense of social responsibility was almost absent, and because their sole intercourse with women was thru the medium of the prostitute much of their conception of sex became a foul perverted thing, and as a class they were unable to appreciate woman as a social companion. It was the conditions forced on them by the lumber baron's greed that was responsible for every abnormal development in the lives of the loggers. Every natural instinct and desire was repressed and thwarted and in individuals the result was only what was to be expected. As a group also the workers obeyed the laws of psychology, and when their repressed social tendencies were given a chance to express themselves in the I. W. W. they seized the opportunity and developed a sense of solidarity and class consciousness that all the murderous persecution of the Lumber Trust has not shaken.

Enters the I. W. W.

Almost from the inception of the I. W. W. there were attempts made to organize the woodsmen of the northwest coast. All those great speakers who in the early days of the organization were active in the work toured the cities of the region and spoke from platforms to crowded houses. The effect on the logger was apparently negligible, and as soon as the intellectuals above mentioned became tired of the struggle, public interest waned to a great extent.

Some of the workers had been aroused by the new organization, and headquarters were maintained in the biggest towns for periods of time. From these headquarters soap boxers made their appearance on the street corners, haranguing the idlers and out-of-works that might stop to listen to them. Soap box talks and platform speeches were of little actual benefit to the organization when it came to building up an Industrial Union.

Those who listened to the talk were in most cases men who at the time were not workers themselves. However they would be in a state of mind to receive the teachings of the speaker because being out of work and consequently suffering a lack of some of the necessities of life, the revolutionary and denunciatory utterances would fit in with their feelings and experiences. Once on the job, however, the erstwhile rebel forgot the sentiments of the soap-boxer in the daily round of his toil. It was only when groups of these discontented ones appeared on the same job that the I. W. W. seemed to have any relation to the job at all.

It is hard to say just what effect all this teaching and agitating did have on the minds of the woodsmen. The organization could be called nothing more than a propaganda league propagandizing for Industrial Unionism. Soap boxers dealt their arguments to the crowds and individual propagandists would urge the men with whom they came in contact

to take out cards in the organization and study its principles.

As early as 1912 there were many I. W. W. members working in the woods and there had been a lumber workers local (No. 432) since 1911. In 1912 an industrial strike was called by the I. W. W. While there was some response to this call, in no sense could the industry be called generally affected. Agitation was carried on amongst the loggers by individual members continually and there is little doubt that this agitation was a great factor in preparing the mass of the workers for a change in ideals and a successful membership drive.

The hardship imposed on these early apostles of a new system were appalling. Year after year they labored on, seeming to make little progress, yet ever persisting in their self-appointed task. Estranged intellectually from any sympathy with the prevalent mode of looking at things—always by their ideals forced to take a view of things essentially at variance with the popular one—the mental strain was a terrific one. Only the strongest and most stubborn-minded could pass thru the conflict and still maintain their integrity of purpose and the ability to withstand the social onslaughts. Out of very necessity they banded closely together, closing out of their circle the uncomprehending believer in "things as they are." Although scattered widely, yet they maintained their association and from coast to coast they knew each other by name and nick name. The meeting of two of a kind brought out a vast amount of news of this one and that one—the wild fights, the struggles, the apostasies, the injustices, were handed about on paper and by word of mouth so that this isolated band maintained their uniformity of development and psychology.

Blacklisted, terrorized and socially outcast, victims of law-and-order thugs, they knit the organization more closely together, and from their manifold experiences they developed a psychology of their own that was truly a structure of the new within the shell of the old. Their method of looking at things was essentially social. Solidarity was no philosophical abstraction—it was part of their daily lives. Direct action was not merely a theory—they had to practice it in order to maintain their existence. From the very force of circumstances the I. W. W. became a sentient social thing, practicing in their very life and death struggles the abstract theories that had called them into being.

So it was that when the new tactics of the organization were put into effect there was something tangible to initiate the new members into. There was an ideology clear cut and well defined, a literature expounding the social theories that they advocated and a history of battles won and lost.

The new tactics were first developed in that industry which has been the pioneer in the labor battles in many countries—the agricultural industry. The despised harvest workers evolved the plan of Job Delegates and district organization, that was later adopted by all the organization and adapted to their own needs. It was in 1915 that the Agri-



THE HOME ON THE EDGE OF THE FOREST

cultural Workers Industrial Union No. 400 started the new system. Its success in transferring action onto the job was so phenomenal, and the growth and development of the organization so satisfactory, that the drifting of delegates into other quarters, and the general realization of the efficiency of the new methods, caused the Lumber Workers to reorganize along the same lines and send out Job Delegates also.

In the fall of 1916 the first job delegates entered the woods and almost at once the organization leaped forward into sturdy growth. Into the unspeakable conditions of the logging camps entered the delegate armed with credentials, supplies, and literature. He carried with him his knowledge of the struggles that had been waged and that indefinable something which we have presented as the ideology of the movement.

The times and conditions were favorable to his appearance and purpose. The logging industry was just recovering from the stagnation that had prevailed thruout the country prior to the war in Europe. The workers had not forgotten their experiences on the bread lines and in the jungles. They well understood the class struggle for they had been made to see it. Conditions in the woods were deplorable. The same bunk houses that had sheltered the logger for thirty years were provided for his habitation. The speed-up system was at its height, and the employment shark was waging his war on the incomes of the men. Prohibition had deprived the workers of their sedative—they had to face the facts as they were. The field was ripe for the harvest and the job delegate was driving the reaper.

Coming into the bunk-houses of the camp he was accepted as a fellow worker by the inmates. He had ample opportunity to join in the conversations and discussions which are the chief pastime of the logger off duty. It was easy to guide the conversations into channels from which it was but a step to the discussion of industrial unionism. When two and three old members could be on the same job it did not take long before the whole camp accepted the viewpoint of the industrialists. Put to innumerable tests, it was found that the delegates and the plain members were ever ready to live up to the doctrines that they taught.

The life in the camps is not a life of individual segregation. There is no ability to hide oneself away or to shut out the personality of another. The job delegate having a mission easily dominated the thought of the hitherto unthinking aggregation. He crystallized the dissatisfaction with conditions into a revolt against the entire capitalist system which was shown to be responsible for the conditions. He taught sociology and impressed on the workers the new vision—the social vision. Solidarity was his watchword and solidarity was developed in the erstwhile individualistic logger. Having a complete ideology well defined with an explanatory literature and a history of daring deeds, the enquirers into the philosophy and purpose, structure and action of the I. W. W. soon found themselves part and parcel of the movement that was sweeping across the woodlands.

Thousands took out cards in the organization, read its literature and adopted its viewpoint. At once the things that could be enjoyed together by

the workers seemed the most desirable to have. Better conditions, a dry-house, a bath-house, sheets and pillows, spring beds, everything that made for comfort and cleanliness, was desired by men who but a short time before had given little thought to anything except debauchery and individual advantage.

It is not a miracle of salvation that at the I. W. W. wrought in the loggers. In the minds of the men had always been those natural instincts and desires which demanded social exercise, but these instincts had been repressed and perverted by the environment and the teachings which capitalism had forced upon them. Perhaps it was because of that very excess of repression that when a medium of expression was found the wave of response was so overwhelming.

At any rate wherever the membership of the I. W. W. has set foot in the logging woods there springs up a new feeling—a new attitude towards not only the boss but towards all the salient factors of life. To one who glances superficially at the class-conscious development which has taken place, it seems but an accentuation of dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Lumber Barons and their henchmen. It goes far deeper than this. The very atmosphere is different in a camp where the wobblies have a foothold.

Even after the great industrial strike which was carried to the job and won by direct job action there were many points where the influence of the organization was scarcely felt. Especially is this true in Southwestern Washington—the scene of the Centralia outrage and the Montesano trial.

One of Paulsens outfits, in the Grays Harbor country—all of which was affected by the strike but not necessarily by the dissemination of ideas and the recruiting of a persistent membership—had intalled some of the things which the I. W. W. had demanded. They had bunk house cars, well lighted and ventilated, with a dry room built in one end so that the occupants of the car could hang up their damp clothes of an evening, and have them dry in the morning. By using the dry-house the purity of air that is so essential in a decent sleeping quarter could have been maintained.

There were no members of the I. W. W. in the camp. One new member, himself but ill-versed in the fighting principles of the organization went out to work in the camp. He found the men utterly unable to utilize the betterment of conditions. Instead of putting their clothes in the dry house—so handy and convenient—they hung them over the stove in the bunk house proper. They were unable to agree about the ventilators and because some of the men had a superstitious horror of fresh air, they all slept without ventilation and breathed the foul impurities from devitalized air and drying clothes.

The company had agreed to furnish bedding (at so much per of course) so that the crowning humiliation of a loggers life—his blanket roll—might be lifted from his back. But these unenlightened individualists still packed, and slept in, their own

ragged and unclean blankets rather than pay the nominal sum which the company would charge for bedding and clean sheets.

The lone wobbly remonstrated in vain with his bunkmates. Not having been long in the organization he failed to know the many ways which are used by the delegates to bring recalcitrant fellow workers to time. When he was told to mind his own business, he left such fools to their folly and hired out to some camp where he knew that he would find men of his own kind.

The great contribution of the I. W. W. to the logger has been not so much in the improved conditions, much as those conditions were needed and appreciated in most quarters, but in the new psychology which insured general use of improvements. A psychology which has grown to stalwart proportions in the few years that have elapsed since the Job Delegate entered the field. This new social viewpoint is spread broadcast throughout the logging woods, and no matter what happens to the machinery of organization by which this ideology finds expression, the I. W. W. cannot be destroyed for they have developed a social soul or spirit that is indestructible.

Job action was the great weapon that forced the Lumber Barons to grant the eight hour day, to furnish blankets, to improve accommodations and put up better food. Much has been said in a general way about this form of direct action and seemingly little else than generalities can be presented. In every camp where the membership of the I. W. W. were represented a struggle was carried on and in many cases is still being carried on. The struggle varies in each camp both as to methods and results. There has been no strategic genius who sat back in some easy office chair and dictated the moves to be made or gave orders as to when strikes were to be pulled or how. There were no individuals who were responsible for a greater share in the movement than hundreds or even thousands of others. Each difficulty was met and fought by the men on the jobs and no general plan was observed in the fighting of the different battles. Action was spontaneous and it was social. There is no literature of achievements, yet in the mind of each battler there remains his stock of stories and his experience which can be called on at any time in the future for the benefit of the next group of fellow workers that he happens to be a member of. There are no outstanding heroes, yet each member realizes that to some extent he himself is the partaker in the greatest deeds. A social, many-bodied hero has arisen to fight the loggers' battles. It is the I. W. W.

Improvements Brought About by the I. W. W.

The individual bully has disappeared from the bunk house. Should any person, no matter how much personal prowess he had, endeavor to override the accepted rules laid down by the group, that person would receive either a mental or physical punishment that would forever teach him respect for the rights of others. Such action is distasteful, but after the administration of punishment once, it



IMPROVING CAMP CONDITIONS

seldom needs to be repeated. Bullies have disappeared. They themselves have absorbed the new viewpoint and are most meticulous in the observation of rules or customs for the general welfare.

With the henchmen of the Lumber Barons the fight has been more severe. Personal subjection was not a matter of brute force in most cases even where it was desirable to try it. With the violent bullying boss other methods were used besides a brute beating. Pulled camps, inefficient work, and intermittent strikes were used as the occasion warranted but, whatever the method used, the Bull of the Woods is not the absolute master that he once was. Many foremen have welcomed the change in relationship and try to work in harmony with the men, but whether they do or not, there is no longer brutality on the part of the foremen or superintendents where the I. W. W. works or has a say.

In the olden days a man obeyed the dictates of the foremen or went "down the line." On stormy, windy days, when it would be dangerous in the tall timber, where a broken flying limb or a snapped off top might mean instant death to the worker, the foremen or went "down the line." One stormy, out or roll up." The weather was not considered when the logs were needed—nor the men. Today

the "roll out or roll up" is relegated to history. When the storms rage the foreman's urge to work is usually limited to a few half hearted pulls on the whistle cord and, if there is no response, it is known that there will be no work that day. The workers seated around the stove in the bunk houses smile grimly at their master's voice—and turn to things more interesting.

Not only have conditions of subservience changed but the betterment of physical surroundings has been vastly improved in nearly every instance. Before the advent of the Red Card, bunk houses were often built with double bunks three high around the walls. Six men would sleep two by two above each other in the space where normally there should be but one. Once the ubiquitous louse was introduced he remained as master. Bed bugs were not counted. They did not bite till the victim was asleep. Consequently the havoc that they raised was as nothing compared to their more active fellow insects.

In nearly all cases bunk houses were built with wooden bunks two deep and it was at the price of eternal vigilance that freedom from insects was ever secured. In many camps, prior to the early organization work, there was no bull-cook furnished. The duties of the bull cook are to carry and split

wood for the heating stove, sweep the floor and in some instances to make the beds. The workers were forced to rustle their own wood and water. They had to build their own fires and suffer the inconvenience of coming into a cold camp at night after from ten to twelve hours in the drizzle, and would scurry about in the dark in order to find the means to warmth and cleanliness.

Payment was made to most of the men in time checks which were discounted in the cashing, often as high as twenty-five per cent. Never did man live in such hopeless physical and mental discomfort as these workers were forced to prior to the organization of the Lumber Workers Union.

As to conditions of work which were established in some instances where the I. W. W. secured control, Danahers Camp can be cited. The conditions in this place caused a great deal of dissention in the organization, because it was made into such a workhouse by members who desired to test the ability of the organization to carry on industry and who desire to maintain job control at a time when the organization was being persecuted by all the legal machinery of state, and hounded by tar and feather gangs and lynch mobs from coast to coast. Nevertheless the ability to improve conditions was amply demonstrated as well as the ability of Industrial Unionism to efficiently manage industry.

Complete job control was secured in this camp late in 1917. About 150 men were at work in the place and every man carried a red card. Job meetings were held regularly and a job committee was elected and controlled by these meetings. The committee looked after all matters pertaining to the welfare of the employees. Food of the best quality was served. Bunk houses were kept scrupulously clean, and single beds with clean sheets and bedding were furnished to the men. The work-day was eight hours.

If a man shipped up and was found to be inefficient at the job he was hired for, the committee took up his case and placed him on some work that he could do. All men were hired from the I. W. W. hall in Seattle and the labor turnover was less than in any like camp under non-union conditions.

The men built a recreation hall on the grounds and this hall was under the control of the I. W. W. committee. A piano was procured and regular musical entertainments and dances were held. The hall was used for a reading room and for educational purposes generally. Debates on current topics and organization work together with regular business meetings taxed the hall to capacity.

The Reign of Terror in the Woods

It was in June of 1918 that this condition of things came to an end. The autocrat of the woods, one Col. Disque, Commandant of the Spruce Division, sent soldiers of the U. S. army into the camp and broke things up. The hall was used to camp in by the soldiers and every logger was forced to flee for fear of imprisonment. Many were captured and held as military prisoners for some time. The only excuse for this high-handed outrage was given by

Lieut. Bickford who was in charge of the detachment. He said that cables and powder could not be trusted in the hands of members of the I. W. W.

No charges of misuse of materials were ever preferred. Disque merely ordered the capture of the camp, and the owner was a passive spectator to the invasion. Spruce division soldiers were sent to run the camp, although there was not a stick of spruce within miles of the place. While the I. W. W. were on the job the daily output of logs was from 17 to 20 cars, while with the soldiers from three to seven cars were produced. Many of the spruce division privates had been members of the organization before they were drafted but militarism was not conducive to successful production.

Since that time, whenever the I. W. W. has achieved job control there has been no attempt to build halls or improve the property of the owner in any way. The policy of forcing the owners to put up these improvements for the benefit of the workers has been adopted and efficiency or self-discipline has never been demonstrated again—for the master's profit.

The change in conditions which has been brought about by the advent of the I. W. W. into the woods can be seen by a comparison between the two sets of conditions. In many places all the improvements have not been established, but it is safe to say that they will be established and will be properly used unless a willful Government undertakes the Herculean task of deporting every I. W. W. to another continent.

Such an expedient might well prove useless for in part the change in the way of thinking of the workers has been brought about by mechanical changes in the methods of production. The first loggers were men of skill and personal prowess. The output of logs depended upon the skill and strength of the individual loggers because the work was mostly all hand work. Today logging is a mechanical industry. A knowledge of stresses and strains and other engineering phenomena together with knowledge of how to take advantage of these forces is the determining factor in getting out the logs. Individual prowess is of little concern. Reasoning from cause to effect and the habits of such reasoning are factors in arousing the worker to his own position in society and in developing the social viewpoint. An entirely new set of workers would in time develop the same ability to think straight that is now the property of the "wobbly" logger.

Present Struggles

Methods in use at present in order to enforce the demands for new and better conditions in those places which have not yet come up to standard are varied. All during the summer of 1919 the system of pulling camps was in vogue. Demands were presented to the boss and, when he refused to consider them, all the militant workers on the job would go to town. There are a number of drawbacks to constant attempts of this kind. To some extent it is a hindrance to organization work, for with the



"BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP SEA"

increasing number of family men who work in the woods, the fly-by-night tactics are impossible to follow. Such men are kept from the organization. And men who prefer to work steadily are put in the same position. Militant members are kept on the hike and financially broken. By working in many camps the face of the rebel becomes generally known and blacklist enforcement is made easier. Then the scizzor who refuses to leave the struck job stays and gets the benefit of any better conditions that may be won by the strike and is given the pick of the work when a new crew of wobblies comes to carry on the agitation.

At the same time, pulling camps has been of great benefit in regards conditions. Bosses are not so apt to fire a delegate when the camp has been pulled a few times because of such action. Conditions are as a rule improved considerably after a pulling and in nearly every case the companies, when building new camps, lay them out in approved, up-to-date style.

The present status of logging conditions is one of general transition. Others less modern are gradually being brought up to the level of the best ones, and educational work has little chance with a constantly changing crew. The eight hour day has been firmly established, in the battle with the masters, to secure abolition of piece work, victory has not always attended the efforts of the workers. Food is uniformly good. When not good the roar

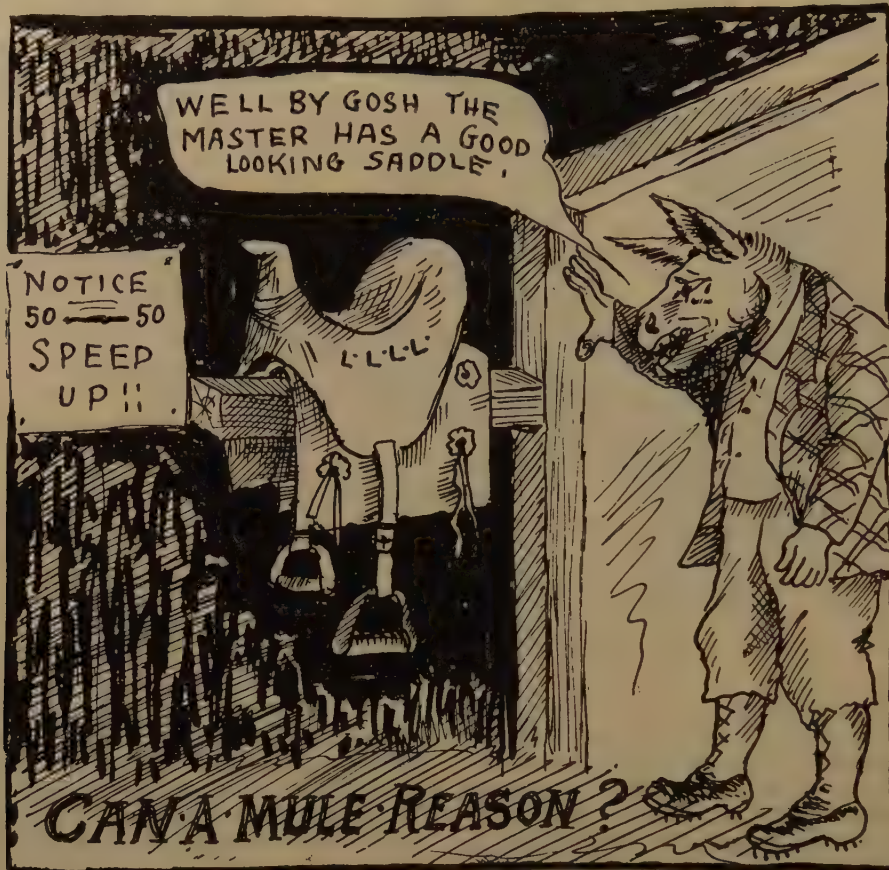
of rebellion is so spontaneous that it soon becomes good. Booze images have disappeared from the logger's mind. The exciting battles he has fought, and the vicious attacks he has been called upon to face, have wiped the boozefighting psychology from most brains. To call one a bartender is an epithet not cherished. Many camps have been made fit habitations for women and the cook houses are often run by the fair sex. Sex segregation is no longer so severe, and when the logger is in town he associates with women—of a different caliber than he formerly met. In some instances he finds women fellow workers fighting for the O. B. U. though as yet women are slow to take up the battle.

The social conscience has become the dominant factor in life in the places where the wobbly has entered. His self-respect, and the respect of all who know him as an individual, accentuates and develops his usefulness to himself and to others. The I. W. W. logger reads—not the sickly sentimental trash of the sensual bourgeoisie, but clean classic fiction, as well as articles on political, philosophical and economic subjects written by his fellow workers and the best writers of the world. Because magazines of unquestionable artistic taste have espoused his cause he reads and studies the poetry and the pictures that are portrayed in such periodicals. Besides his own organization publishes papers and periodicals edited on scientific lines.

In mental life the average logger has had a resur-

rection in the last decade. His whole being has grown and developed in the struggle which he has been waging. Not alone does he see the few cents more pay that he has been able to force out of the Lumber Barons, nor alone the physical comforts

that he was so long deprived of. His vision goes far on to the destiny of the whole working class which is the abolition of wage slavery and the capitalist system. He sees the introduction of Industrial Democracy.



NONE BUT LOGGERS ARE EXPECTED TO UNDERSTAND THIS

.....If you like "The One Big Union Monthly," help to increase its circulation. Secretaries and bundle order agents should increase their orders, wherever possible. In places where we have no agents, subscribers and other readers are requested to order regularly a bundle for sale or distribution among their friends. If you cannot visit likely subscribers and talk to them yourself, send us their names and addresses, and we will send them sample copies. Never allow the work to rest. Keep pounding away at the work of educating the workers.

The Brotherhoods and the Crafts

versus

Railroad Workers Industrial Union No. 600

or

Revolutionary Industrial Unionism

By W. J. Lemon

The great European War, recently fought, and hailed as the deliverer of world-wide democracy, has so far failed to make good the predictions of its sponsors and beneficiaries.

While millions of the working class were laying down their lives upon the altar of capitalism, on the presumption that their sacrifice would usher in the era of the New Freedom, the Masters have forged the fetters of industrial slavery upon the limbs of the workers stronger than before. They have made democracy a snare and a delusion only. There can be no freedom in any land for the working class, so long as the mines, the railroads, the shops and mills are in the possession of the ruling or capitalist class. There can be no democracy for the workers, except Industrial democracy, where the workers own and control the natural resources, and the machinery of production and distribution of the means of life. No worker can be free, so long as the capitalist class own the means of life.

Capitalism is the ruling power, and is in control by a small minority of capitalists whose aim and purpose is not to administer the means of life in the interest of the workers, but to own the earth and everything thereon and underneath; thereby making of the workers a subject class, and of themselves the ruling class. While the capitalist class are exploiting the workers to the very limit, and from the surplus product of the workers' toil are accumulating their fabulous wealth and power, millions of workers are living in all stages of poverty.

Capitalism is not an issue of race, creed, color or nationality; the workers of all nations where capitalism is supreme have the same issue and the same enemy to combat — The Capitalist Class. It is an economic issue and struggle. Capitalism is capitalism wherever it is in power, regardless of the name you apply to the form of government, this country not excepted; it is the most vicious and merciless in the country where it is the strongest entrenched. Capitalism is the real government, because it owns the nation, therefore, it is the function of such governments to administer in the interest of the class that owns and controls.

The workers are propertyless; they own nothing but their labor power, which they sell upon the labor market to the highest bidder, therefore, they have no place in a capitalist government to function in their interests. The power of the workers, is in their unions; not in legislative assemblies or House of Congress, trying to work in coalition with the capitalist class, because between these two classes there is no common ground, their economic interests are diametrically opposed to each other, and between

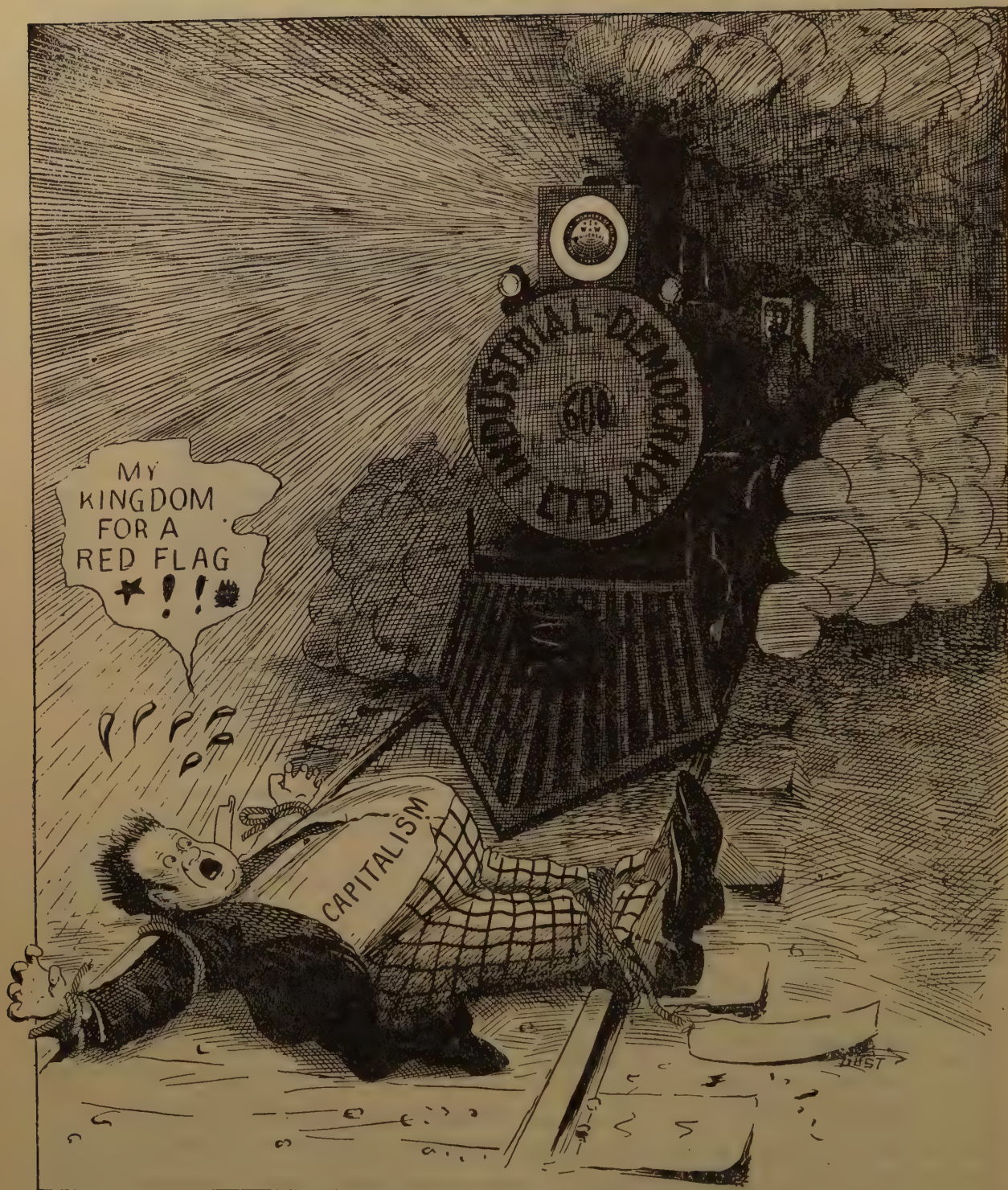
the two there can be no peace so long as capitalism exists. Industrial Democracy is the New Freedom for the workers. The workers who are the immense majority of the people, and who produce all the necessities of life, and are the backbone of civilization, is the class that must solve and work out the New Society, where the emblem of labor shall be the only badge of citizenship. The question now before the workers, is what form and principle of labor union do we require to build up and bring about the change.

At the present time, we have two forms of organization, — one, the crafts and the brotherhoods, who do not recognize or teach the struggle between the two classes; they merely advocate a little more pay for a few shorter hours, and are perfectly contented to maintain the capitalist system. The other is *Revolutionary Industrial Unionism*, represented in this country by the I. W. W. The railroad workers being represented in this world-wide movement through their unit or sub-division, known as the *Railroad Workers Industrial Union No. 600*, whose aim and purpose is not to merely seek palliatives for this economic and social disease, but to organize the workers that they will be prepared to take over the reins of industry and forever abolish the system that holds the workers in bondage and poverty.

ORGANIZATION

No sane worker will dispute the necessity of the workers organizing on the industrial field for their own protection and economic welfare. The question is, what form of labor union is best adapted to attain the desired results; for labor unions are like a two-edged sword, they can be used to cut both ways. A labor union to be effective must be organized in conformity with the industrial age or the mode of production and distribution at the time of such organization, and must keep pace with its form and principles, along with the rapid evolution of the industrial process, in order to be an effective instrument in the hands of the workers for their protection and steady advancement toward the goal of emancipation. Labor organizations that are not organized on such form and principle are far more destructive than beneficial to the workers, for they only assist to shackle the workers, and impede the movement. They eventually become a splendid machine to control the workers for the benefit of the masters and a horde of *labor traitors* that are only interested in maintaining the union in order that they may continue to draw handsome salaries.

Such organizations as these are a greater menace



THE DREAM THAT CAME TRUE

to the workers than none at all, and they are very numerous thruout the U. S. A., and it is high time that the workers should come out of their hypnotic sleep, do a little thinking, and take the reins in their own hands, and organize into a union that will not be an ally of the capitalist class — but an enemy. Mr. Workingman, it is up to you as an individual to choose your own course, no one else can do it for you.

THE BROTHERHOOD AND THE CRAFTS

As to the merits or demerits of the *Brotherhood* and the *Crafts*, it is probably useless to discuss to any great length, as the majority of those who read this article are already quite familiar with that question. In the first place these organizations claim to be the *legitimate Labor Movement of America*. As to where they secured the title or right to the exclusive monopoly of labor unionism we do not know; neither do we care, we'll let that question take care of itself, or leave it to the workers themselves to decide in due time. Like the kings of old, they may have the right from Divine Authority. However we do know that the most of them were organized many years ago, in the crude shape that production and capitalism was then in, and the majority of them have remained as crude ever since.

That they were well fitted and did a great work in their day, no one will dispute, but that day is past; that was the beginning of the machine age, and when the tool was in use and more skilled workers were required than now. This is the period of the highly developed machine process, as well as the day of intensely developed and concentrated capitalism, with all the arms of the government for its support, with which the crafts and brotherhoods are unable to cope.

Anyone with an open mind, that has followed the history of the labor movement for the past quarter of a century, can readily see the steady decline of the power of these unions. Is it not a fact that these unions have defeated themselves; in their scores of battles on the industrial field, by failing to give each other economic support? Look at the Brotherhoods for instance, each having a sacred contract expiring at different periods of the year, and the majority of the crafts are likewise; one half of the unions strike while the other half scab. If perchance the rank and file in some locality should become class-conscious, and display a militant spirit by calling a sympathetic strike without the sanction of their *grand chiefs* and *international officers*, they are bullied back to their jobs by threats of expulsion and the blacklist. For instance the Winnipeg, Los Angeles and Kansas City railroad strike; the longshoremen and printers of New York and hundreds of other cases during the last few years could be cited. But the two most recent and conspicuous incidents are the steel workers and the coal miners.

The steel strikers made a magnificent display of

solidarity and determination, and sacrificed until it hurt, for just a little more of democracy; while the union railroad workers hauled material, scabs and soldiers (U. S. and State) to shoot them down and make them submissive slaves to the U. S. Steel Trust, the strongest arm of the American plutocracy. The history of the coal strike was characterized by the same action on the part of the railroad and other unions, with the result about the same; the miners were compelled to surrender because they were deserted by their fellow unionists; bludgeoned by the military, their strike funds tied up by the courts, and made felons over night by the master's ever-ready injunction. The results were as usual; the masters came out the victor of the spoils. In due time the railway unions will follow with the same disastrous results. When the organizations of these three basic industries are disposed of, according to the mapped out plan of organized capital, the rest will be easy picking for the masters from then on.

The A. F. of L. and the Brotherhoods admit their weakness or futility as an economic power, because there is never a legislative assembly or a House of Congress in session that the lobbies do not swarm with their lobbyists, with their hats in hand and down on bended knees humbly begging favors (not rights) from the representatives of their capitalist masters.

The crafts and the brotherhoods only advocate "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work"; what ever that is — it is the unsolved problem. The state constabulary and U. S. troops answered it according to the understanding of the steel and coal barons, by jabbing the slaves with bayonets and mowing them down with machine guns. Not only were the steel and coal workers treated in this manner; but the workers of Ludlow, Bisbee, Homestead and hundreds of other places and in every instance, the power of government stood behind the real government — the capitalist class.

THE RAILROAD WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 600 or REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

We are not the only organization in this country that claims to be organized on the industrial basis. But we are one of the many units or sub-divisions of the only *revolutionary industrial union* in America — *The Industrial Workers of the World*. We admit that we are very unpopular with the capitalist class, and many of the conservative working class. It is natural that we should be despised and persecuted by the owners of predatory wealth, because they see in the growth of this organization the end of their class, and of the right to exploit and rob the working class of the fruits of their toil. The conservative faction of the workers are prejudiced, because of their ignorance; they are lied to by the capitalist press, the preacher and the priest, the movie picture show, and all the other agencies, that are owned and controlled by the masters, for the

sole purpose of creating division and hatred among the workers, in order that they can continue their robbery and keep you in subjection.

The very fact that we are despised and persecuted by the robber class, is proof that we are an organization of the workers, by the workers and for the workers only. We must either stand for the workers or the shirkers; and if we were not a militant workers' organization, and perfectly harmless to the capitalist interests, we would be hailed and lauded by the masters' press, as a sane and model labor union, and *one hundred per cent American*.

We are not only fought by our capitalist masters, but also fought bitterly by many of the leaders of the Brotherhoods and the craft unions because they see that if this organization grows and becomes a power, many of them will lose their lucrative positions and be compelled to go to work. Instead of having a hundred and some odd unions, each having a retinue of officials, drawing salaries equal to from two to five times the wages earned by the rank and file; there will be *One Big Union*, sub-divided into industrial unions and locals, as conditions demand, and the members themselves determine. We will bring the workers under *One Banner, One Constitution*, thereby reducing a tremendous overhead expense, and abolishing the long line of *Red Tape* that now makes a workers' federation almost impossible.

We have been accused of destroying the present unions, and overthrowing the capitalist system. No, we are not going to destroy the present unions; the employers' organizations with the help of the governmental powers will attend to that, when the I. W. W. is disposed of. The crafts and brotherhoods, are already hamstrung as an economic power, they only function now as insurance societies, while the capitalist politicians appoint arbitration and mediation boards to dispose of the economic issues.

As to the overthrow of the capitalist class, we'll let them do that themselves, they are fast digging their own grave. They have just fought a war in order to secure foreign markets in which to dispose of the surplus products plundered from the workers. The war is over, and the markets are scarcer than before, besides the people are saddled with the greatest war debt in the world's history, and this is the economic factor that is going to send the capitalist system down the toboggan slide to eternal oblivion. No! the I. W. W. has not come to destroy, but to save. We are here to organize the workers to take over industry when the final collapse of capitalism arrives.

The R. R. W. I. U. No. 600 is the unit to organize the railroad workers. The other industries are organizing in their units, so that the workers will have a perfect industrial organization and will be able to carry on production and distribution of the means of life, devoid of chaos and a turbulent upheaval of society.

The aim and purpose of the R. R. W. I. U. No. 600 — a unit of the I. W. W. is to organize all railroad

workers into One Industrial Union sub-divided into locals according to the needs; this can only be determined and worked out by the R. R. workers themselves. Each local has representation in the Industrial Union; the Industrial Union will have representation in the General Organization, thus the workers will have a complete organization under one name—one constitution, with an executive head controlled by the rank and file. We organize all workers regardless of race, creed or color, because our interests are identical. If we don't, the boss will use those on the outside to defeat us on the inside; the boss don't care what color or creed his slaves are, they all look alike to him; his object is the most work for the least pay. We do not make time contracts to tie ourselves, we leave ourselves free so that we can help our fellow workers, and not make organized scabs of ourselves.

Contracts are only valid when there is economic power behind them. Signatures of *Big Chiefs* and *International Officers* are mere scraps of paper without the power of the rank and file for support. The control of all unions in the I. W. W. is in the hands of the rank and file at all times, by the use of the initiative, referendum and recall. The officials of this organization are executives only, for the purpose of executing the will of the membership. No official in the R. R. W. I. U. No. 600 can hold office more than one consecutive term, nor draw a salary greater than that of its members. This makes a rotation of executive officials, which prevents the growth of autocracy by a long tenure of office and high salaries, such as the brotherhoods and crafts are afflicted with. Our program is to keep continually shortening the work day and raising the pay as our power increases, until we become powerful enough to seize the full product of our labor. When the majority of the workers do this, and take industry over for use, instead of permitting the capitalist class to operate them for profits; all panics, hunger and misery will be abolished.

To put this program into action, we rely upon the education of the workers; our propaganda will be to teach the workers their class position in society, in order that they can act intelligently and correctly. Our aims are to be accomplished directly thru our own unions, by the workers economic power in the industries.

We have severed all relations with capitalist politicians, because they are the servants of the capitalist class, with whom we the workers have nothing in common. Nothing has ever been gained by the workers thru political action, except when forced by the organized economic power of the workers.

Mr. Railroad Worker, it is up to you personally; do you want freedom or slavery? The power of the R. R. W. — I. U. No. 600 all depends on you, not on leaders. This union will become powerful just as the numerical strength of its members determine.

If you believe in the One Big Union, join now and help make it big. Don't wait to see what the

other fellow is going to do, he is probably waiting to see what you will do. You can help some if you merely join and pay dues, in order to carry on propaganda. But we want you to do more than that; you can agitate among your fellow workers. Our

slogan is Agitation — Education — Organization — Emancipation.

Ignorance and fear is our greatest enemy. Intelligence, perseverance and courage is our best friend.



REJECTING THE PARTNERSHIP

The I. W. W.

A Statement of its Principles, Objects and Methods

By JOHN SANDGREN

(The following is a statement written for the press at the request of The General Defense Committee of Chicago, about Nov. 1, 1919, and sent out to a great number of publications in this and other countries, to counteract the mass of lies circulated about us. The statement has been found useful for other purposes also, and has been sent for by several people connected with schools and universities, evidently to be used in classes where the labor movement is studied. Recently it has been translated and made into a pamphlet by our Finnish Fellow Workers.

Thinking that others might find it useful for the same or other purposes it is herewith submitted.)

Most every person in America has heard or read of the organization called THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, or The I. W. W. as it is commonly called, but very few people know what it really is and what it seeks to accomplish. Around the name "I. W. W." has grown up an enormous crop of misconceptions. The press of the country has given the I. W. W. members a status in public opinion which very little corresponds with facts. For this reason we are sure that the readers of this publication will be interested in an authoritative statement of the principles, object and methods of this organization, as well as of other pertinent facts.

SOME MISCONCEPTIONS OF THE I. W. W.

The belief is not uncommon among the general public that The I. W. W. is a secret, revolutionary organization; that it mainly consists of foreigners; that we are an organization plotting in the dark to commit violence and bloodshed and to destroy property, and, finally to overthrow the United States' Government.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

The I. W. W. is not a revolutionary organization in the commonly accepted sense of the term, as for instance the Sinn Fein movement or the Confederacy. It is so far from being secret that it, on the contrary, seeks fair publicity to the greatest possible extent, and all its work is carried on in the open. It is an organization without any secrets. Nor does it mainly consist of foreigners. The originators were nearly all Americans and its membership is now principally American, the foreigners being represented only in the same proportion as they are represented in the industries we cover. The I. W. W. never has plotted or committed any violence; it never has preached or practised the destruction of property, and it never had for its aim, nor has it now for its aim, the overthrow of the United States Government, its constitution and its laws.

The following paragraphs will make this plain to any thinking and unprejudiced reader.

THE HISTORY OF THE I. W. W.

The initiative to the forming of the I. W. W. was taken in this country in 1905. The prime movers were some thirty, more or less well known figures in the labor world, among whom we may mention Eugene V. Debs, William D. Haywood, Thomas J. Haggarty and Frank Bohn. The actual forming of the organization took place in 1906, the bulk of the membership from the start consisting of Western miners, of metal workers and railroad men. To

these were added a number of members from the various socialist camps. The I. W. W. was from the start a labor union and is so to this day, but differs from other labor unions both on matters of principles, objects and methods. In the course of the past 14 years it has extended its activity to a number of industries and has at the present time about 20 Industrial Unions of a national scope as well as a General Recruiting Union. A large part of the membership has come from the ranks of the migratory workers. The organization has conducted many large strikes with varying success in many industries, but its chief activity up to date has been of an educational nature. In the carrying out of this work the organization has on several occasions come in conflict with the authorities on the issue of free speech, free press and free assemblage, and of late years, since the beginning of the war, many hundreds of our members have been sentenced for supposed violation of the Espionage law or are in jail accused of violation of the new laws against criminal syndicalism. The persecution we have had to suffer, both officially and unofficially, has been terrible. Our members have been murdered, imprisoned, tarred and feathered, deported, starved, beaten, denied the right of citizenship and exiled; they have had their homes invaded, their private property and papers seized, have been denied the privilege of defense, have been held in extortionate bail, have been subjected to involuntary servitude, have been kidnapped, have been subjected to cruel and unusual punishment, have been "framed" and unjustly accused, have been excessively fined, have died in jail waiting for trial, have been driven insane and to suicide in jail through persecution, have been denied the use of the mails, have been denied the right to organize, have been denied the right of free speech, free press and free assemblage and all other privileges guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

This treatment has not killed our organization. On the contrary, it is spreading by leaps and bounds in every country of the world like a prairie fire. From an insignificant beginning in 1905 it has grown to become a world movement of tremendous proportions.

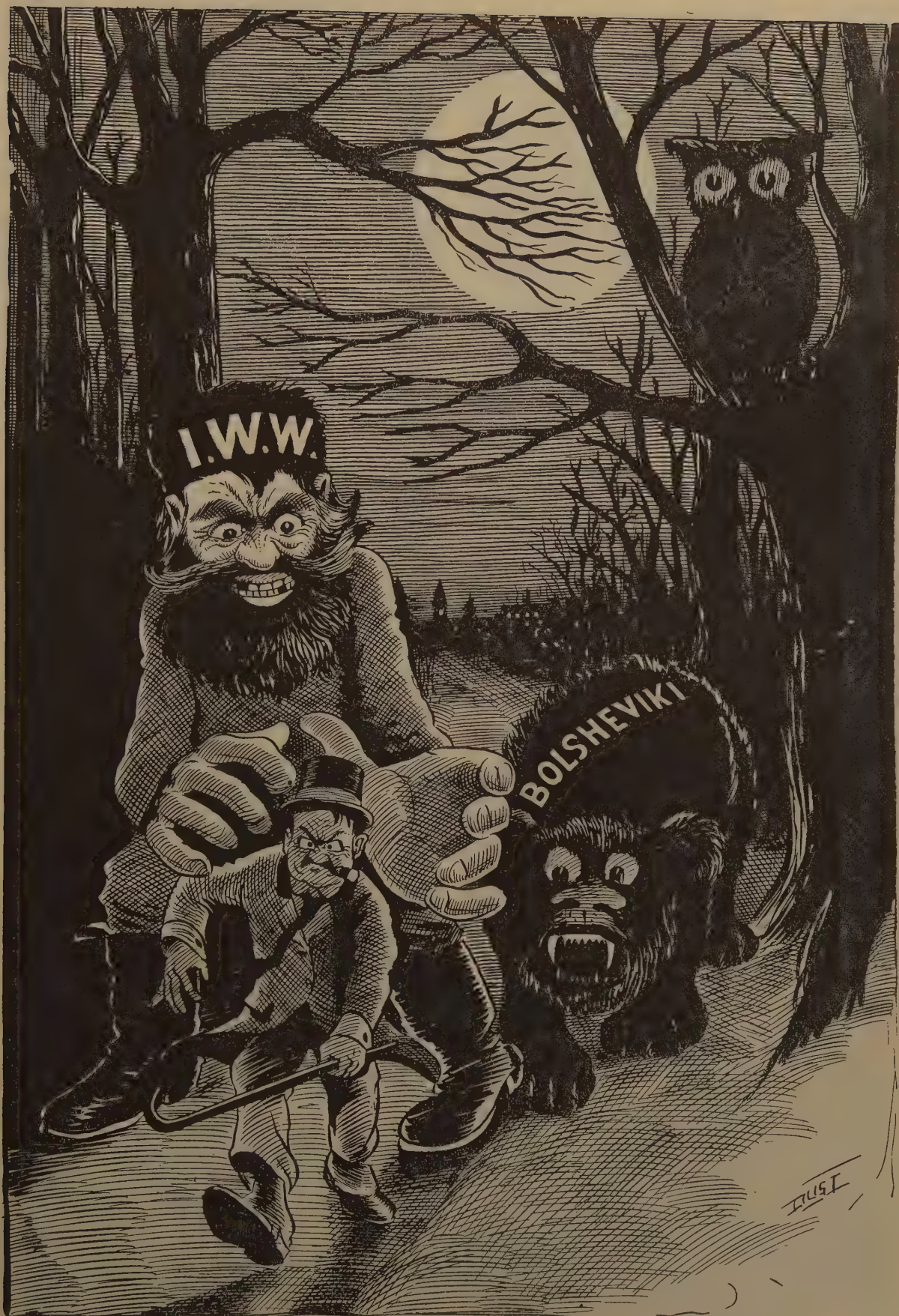
This very fact, it seems to us, should indicate to the outside world that there is a great intellectual and moral force behind this movement, which they cannot afford to ignore or combat with unreasoning violence. To survive such awful persecution our movement must with necessity have a foundation of truth which attracts the masses and which deserves looking up. The people are accepting our principles in spite of all persecution. Let us see what these principles are.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE I. W. W.

The fundamental principles of the I. W. W. are set forth in the preamble to its constitution. This preamble is a document as simple as it is brief. It has been retained in its original shape since the beginning with the exception that in 1908 the organization struck out the paragraph calling for political action, making it a distinctly non-political organization, operating on the economic field alone. Here the preamble follows:

THE PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have



By the cartoonist of "The Daily Sandpaper"
ONE MISCONCEPTION OF THE I. W. W.

nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

THE OBJECTS OF THE I. W. W.

In accordance with this declaration of principles the objects of the I. W. W. are as follows:

To organize all the productive forces, that is all workers with hand and brain, into industrial unions. We aim at gathering all the workers in a plant or establishment into one body, irrespective of their crafts or occupations. Every industrial establishment will form a branch of the Industrial Union comprising that industry. The Industrial Union covers the whole industry of the country and, eventually of the whole world. This does away with the old craft union form of organization which builds fences between the different crafts in the same plant and in the same industry, thus separating them and making united action difficult or impossible.

The object of these industrial unions is twofold.

The first object, for the present, of the industrial union is to have it serve as a **militant organ**, in the daily struggle with the employing class for higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions. This needs no further explanation, except to state that we maintain that the Industrial union, by uniting all the workers in one body, is a much better fighting organ for this purpose than the craft union ever can be, being that the latter includes only the members of a certain craft.

Our second object is to **have the industrial union serve as a productive organ** when the capitalist system collapses. We have all these years predicted the collapse of capitalism in the near future, we firmly believe it will come, and since the war we expect this collapse to take place quite suddenly. We hold that the productive and distributive organs of capitalism are daily showing signs of breaking down. The private owner, the stock company, the trust, the combination of trusts, seem no longer to be able to supply the needs of men. The necessities

of life are getting beyond the reach of ever greater masses of the people, who are becoming desperate and threaten to overturn the system. Economic insecurity and worry for the present and the future are making life unbearable to millions. They feel that they are being enslaved, that they slowly but surely are being drawn into a world activity that serves no useful ends, that promises no security for the future. The tension resulting from this state of affairs causes the owners of the means of production and distribution to inaugurate a system of force and violence, in order to maintain their ownership and control. Production is now largely being carried on at the point of the bayonet or under the muzzle of machine guns. The system cannot stand on its merits. It can maintain itself only by force.

In short, we foresee the day when the capitalist organs of production shall break down in this country, as they have in several countries in Europe. The masses will demand a rational system of production, which does away with the old, antiquated organs of production. Then new organs of production will be needed to save production from collapse and disorder. **These new organs of production we propose to supply thru our industrial unions.** We maintain that the union of the workers in each establishment is the organ best fitted to run that establishment. We would consequently replace private ownership and control with common ownership and control, by means of the industrial union.

We propose to do on the industrial field what has already been done on the political field, where the franchise is universal. We propose to secure the industrial franchise, universal industrial suffrage. We would give every productive worker a vote in the management of his industry, and we would make the Industrial Union the new productive organ.

Others may propose a limited industrial franchise such as is embodied in the Plumb plan, but we insist on universal industrial suffrage.

Thus we hope to save society, ourselves and our children from the terrors of a revolution which the present owners of wealth seem to insist on dragging over us all, by forcing mankind into the cast iron frame of private ownership and control by a few wealthy men and women, a financial oligarchy, long after it has ceased to serve a socially useful purpose.

Instead of being the dangerous "revolutionaries" that we are frequently accused of being, **we are really the salvage crew of the revolution that is being brought on by the capitalist class.** In fact, we maintain that we are the only factor in present society, making for peace and security and for a rational mode of transition from the old mode of production to the new.

This program will, of course, result in an **industrial democracy** carried out to its utmost consequences, and as far as the ownership of the means of production is concerned it will result in their being owned by the whole people, in common, through the instrumentality of the industrial union, that is, it will actually mean a system of **industrial communism**.

There will thus grow up a system of economic administration, making public functions of most activities which are now private functions. In how far this economic administration of the people, by the people, for the people will make changes necessary in the present political structure of society at the outset, is hard to predict, but it is reasonable to assume that the present political functions of society will be gradually absorbed by the economic administration. In advocating and working for these social changes, in preparing ourselves and the working class generally for the collapse of capitalism,

we are making no direct attack on the United States Government or plotting revolution. **We are simply working in harmony with the forces of economic evolution, which is irresistibly driving mankind from the system of private ownership and control to common ownership and control by the whole people.** The government is supposed to adjust itself to the wishes of the majority of the people, and will probably do so in the future. But all majorities have once been minorities. So are the adherents of our principles now. Some day we hope to be in the majority, when economic conditions, coupled with our persistent education, shall have effected a change in the minds of the people.

As to the moral legitimacy of our objects there can be no doubt, whatever legal interpretation is being put on them by the forces that resist progress. We are economic idealists working for a better world for men to live in, and hope to establish the rule of the good spirits on earth by removing the chief reasons for strife and contention, namely private property, riches and poverty, thus doing away with the internecine struggle that puts every man at the other fellow's throat.

THE METHODS OF THE I. W. W.

When it comes to the question of methods, the I. W. W. has perhaps been more misunderstood and misrepresented than in any other respect. We ourselves prefer to describe our methods as "direct action." Direct action is the opposite of indirect action, that characterizes craft unionism. What we mean by "direct action" is that the workers should act themselves instead of contenting themselves with paying so much a month to leaders to do practically all the "acting" for them. This latter is what we call indirect action, or action through a representative. **Direct action in this case, consequently, is that method of action which springs from the workers themselves.** This term has been greatly misinterpreted by our enemies to mean anything from the burning of haystacks down to murder, in short, violence and destruction. The press has given currency to this interpretation of the expression and thus has stirred up the most unreasoning hatred and the deepest aversion towards our organization in many quarters. And that is not to be wondered at. Those methods are abominable, and we detest them ourselves. **What we want to accomplish by preaching direct action is to stir the workers into personal activity and participation in the struggle for a new society.** We want them to take matters into their own hands and govern their own affairs. The direct action method throws the chief activity of the union on the job, where it results in training the workers for the task of taking over and running the industry. Indirect action throws the activity of the union into the union office, and consists mostly in the questionable arm-chair work of the leaders.

In preaching direct action we are not advising the use of any morally reprehensible or legally punishable methods, but **we are trying to develop industrial democracy, the personal rule by the worker himself over industry.**

For the rest our methods consist in strikes and boycotts for temporary gains. Frequently we advice to "strike on the job," which means that the workers should by a withdrawal of efficiency try to force the concessions they desire.

As to sabotage, the matter has been widely discussed in its various features, but by the I. W. W. no other form has been advised than the one that consists in withdrawal of efficiency. Due to the vicious misinterpretation of the word, the I. W. W. has now ceased to use it.

The fanciful tales in the newspapers about the burning of haystacks and barns, blowing up of build-

ings, will on investigation prove to be false accusations. Some of our members in California were accused of these things, and convicted on the "testimony" of professional witnesses which the persecution usually avails itself of. They did not enter into any defense, as they considered themselves "framed up." In other cases these petty deeds have probably been the work of unknown stragglers or of hirelings employed for the purpose of incriminating I. W. W. men. It is to be remembered that any workingman employed in an industry is admitted on application, and the organization can not and should not be held responsible for the acts of individuals who join us for evil purposes.

THE I. W. W. AND THE RIOTS.

The I. W. W. has been accused of having incited the race riots in Washington, in Chicago, and in Omaha as well as brick-bat "insurrections" and riots in various strike zones. Anyone acquainted with the tenets of the I. W. W. and its membership will smile at such absurd charges. The I. W. W. does not consist of the type of men that start riots. The principles we endorse make us humanitarians and lovers of our fellowmen. We are the very opposite of the rioter type. We do not chase the misguided strike breaker with a brick, or a knife, or a fence rail. We chase him with mental dynamite, we try to convert him to our principles. We are too far-seeing, we have too big an undertaking on hand, to stop on our road to maltreat a "scab." That is done by unenlightened workers, who can see no further than their job. As for the charge that we start riots against negroes and lynch them, the charge is ridiculous. We are trying to win the negro for our organization and fit him for the taking over of production. The negroes of the country know this. They know that the downtrodden workers, irrespective of race, creed or color, has no better friend than those men who are organized in the I. W. W. They know that no I. W. W. man takes part in a race riot.

IS THE I. W. W. UNPATRIOTIC?

With President Wilson the I. W. W. believes in the universal brotherhood of men, in international solidarity and co-operation for the common good of mankind. In this sense we recognize no national barriers. The world is our country. In fact we recognize only two nations, the working class and the exploiting class, and we are exceedingly patriotic to the working class. If by patriotism is meant the drawing of national lines for the purpose of having one people take every advantage of the other people, if by patriotism is meant that the people shall hang solidly together for the oppression of smaller and weaker nations, then we are not patriots. But if patriotism means being solicitous for the welfare of the people of the country where we live and work, and of the world generally, then we surely are patriots, for our whole activity is directed upon that single aim, the welfare of the workers and the elimination of shirkers and parasites. **The I. W. W. men are doing the heaviest work in the country.** They fill the mines, the forests, the harvest fields, the factories and the docks; they are constantly performing useful service for a small reward, and they plan to fit themselves to perform that service in a much more satisfactory manner by organizing industrially, so that they can raise their own standard of living, and prepare to run the industry for the benefit of the people instead of for profit. The I. W. W. is not unpatriotic. They are international in their sympathies, and they are giving their all, their whole lifetime, for nothing or next to nothing, to the service of the people. If that is not patriotism, we do not know what it is.

THE GROWTH OF THE I. W. W.

The I. W. W. has at present 20 Industrial Unions in Working order besides the General Recruiting Union, which latter comprises a large number of branches. Outside of these general bodies there are a considerable number of isolated unions in industries in which we have not yet a sufficient membership to form an Industrial Union. Some of the Industrial Unions are as yet small, and are to be considered merely as a starter.

Charters have been issued to the following Industrial Unions:

Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 8.

Bakery Workers Industrial Union No. 46.

Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 300.

Shipbuilders Industrial Union No. 325.

Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 400.

Fishermens Industrial Union No. 448.

Oil Workers Industrial Union No. 450.

Rubber Workers Industrial Union No. 470.

Furniture Workers Industrial Union No. 480.

Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 500.

Construction Workers Industrial Union No. 573.

Railroad Workers Industrial Union No. 600.

Shoe Workers Industrial Union No. 620.

Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 800.

Coal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 900.

The Textile Workers Industrial Union No. 1000.

Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers Industrial Union No. 1100.

Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Union No. 1200.

General Distribution Workers Industrial Union No. 1300.

Foodstuff Workers Industrial Union No. 1500.

As far as the membership is concerned our records have been sadly upset in the past few years thru the numerous raids and confiscations, but for the last year we have a rather complete record for the important unions.

The increase in some of the unions for the time from Sept. 1, 1918, that is the time our fellow workers were sent to Leavenworth from Chicago, up to Sept. 1, 1919, is as follows:

No. 300, 2,243 new members

No. 400, 8,800 new members

No. 573, 3,334 new members.

No. 600, 597 new members.

No. 800, 6,592 new members.

No. 1100, 556 new members.

We should judge that the total increase in the 12 months is about 50,000 new members.

In the course of the years we have written out about half a million membership cards, but not all of the card holders are now members. Several hundred thousands of I. W. W. members have gone over to other industries or occupations, which we have not yet been able to organize, or they have moved to other places, and some of these have gotten out of touch with us, especially on account of the mobilization. Tens of thousands of them are within the American Federation of Labor, doing all they can to win it over to industrial unionism like ours, and they are meeting with considerable success, as witness the defection of the One Big Union in Canada, and the present agitation in the craft unions for abandonment of the craft union system.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE I. W. W.

The numerical strength of the I. W. W. is, however, no correct measure of the power behind the movement for the industrial organization of the workers. As we have already said, beginning with the seed planted by the I. W. W. in America in 1905, this new plant of industrial unionism has multiplied

enormously and spread all over the Earth. The modern Syndicalist movements of Europe have adopted the principle of industrial organization. The industrial reconstruction of Russia is largely based on industrial unionism. There are now 3,500,000 workers organized in Russia nearly in accordance with our program, running the industries through their unions. Canada has recently left the A. F. of L. and joined the "One Big Union" movement, as our movement is also called. The Australian workers have recently started remodel their unions on the industrial basis into One Big Union. The same thing applies to Mexico, and in South America our principles permeate the majority of the unions. While the parent organization, the I. W. W. itself, may be relatively small and hard pressed, its offspring is taking possession of the world.

At the rate our ideas are spreading in this country now, we expect to see the transformation of the unions take place within the next two or three years, after which they will probably make common cause with the I. W. W. Though small, we are surely a great world power, and we feel confident that the future belongs to us.

THE I. W. W. AND "CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM".

In several states laws have been enacted against "criminal syndicalism". This expression is used to signify all sorts of illegal practices, falsely attributed by our enemies, to the I. W. W. On the strength of the barrage of misrepresentation and false accusations against us which has been kept up for the last few years, these laws have been enacted and are now being resorted to, in order to combat the efforts of the I. W. W. members to secure better conditions. The first trials of this kind, in Seattle and in Spokane, resulted in an ignominious defeat for the prosecution in both cases. Trials in several states are now on; for instance, in California, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Ohio and Michigan. A concerted onslaught has recently been made on us, and great numbers have been sentenced to prison terms by a machinery of "justice" controlled by our enemies. It is sought to establish through the courts, that the I. W. W. is a criminal syndicalist organization, as defined in the law, but if there were any justice to be had in this country, these men would all be acquitted, as they were in the Seattle and Spokane courts. We deny absolutely that in our program enters any of the acts defined as criminal in these laws. We are not criminals. They should be looked for in other quarters than the I. W. W. In fact, it is very seldom that apprehended criminals carry an I. W. W. card, even though such a card is exceedingly easy to obtain, requiring only a formal application. Those that are convicted under the espionage law are no more to be considered as criminals than the Huguenots of France or Abolitionists in this country. They are pioneers of a highminded idealism.

----- THE I. W. W.'S IN JAIL.

Scattered throughout the jails, prisons, stockades, detention and internment camps of this country there are close to 2,000 members of the I. W. W. Some of them are condemned to life-time imprisonment, other to from 1 to 20 years' imprisonment, while others are being held for deportation, or held while awaiting trial. To these members we are giving the aid that lies within the power of our poor membership. Nearly half a million dollars has been spent for legal defense, and we have so far succeeded in securing the release of some 40 Fellow Workers on bail, the amount gathered for this purpose being close to \$300,000. There are still hundreds who would now be out on bail if we would procure the amount needed. The total amount of bail money now needed is about ONE MILLION dollars.

Besides, we are calling for ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND dollars for defense purposes. Until we secure these amounts we cannot secure justice for our Fellow Workers. What has been collected so far has bonds from poor wage workers. We have drained their resources, and are now appealing to the people at large to come to our aid. William D. Haywood, former secretary of the I. W. W. and now out on bail from Leavenworth, where he is sentenced to serve 20 years, is the Secretary of the General Defense Committee, whose address is at the General Headquarters of the organization, that is, 1001 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.

THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE I. W. W.

The I. W. W. considers the educational work of primary importance. The booklist of our Publishing Bureau is considerable and the number of our weekly and monthly publications reaches at present 21, not counting the weekly or monthly bulletins of the various industrial unions. In English there are three weeklies, The Industrial Worker of Seattle, The Solidarity of Chicago and the Fellow Worker of New York. These all have a large and ever increasing circulation. In English there is besides to be noted "The One Big Union Monthly," a 64-page, illustrated publication with a very large circulation, which is constantly increasing. (Address: 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.) In foreign languages there are papers and magazines in Russian (three times a week), Bulgarian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Jewish, Roumanian, German, Italian, Finnish (1 daily, 1 monthly, 1 quarterly), 1 Bohemian, etc.

There will soon be published an "I. W. W. Handbook," covering the whole field of our endeavor in an introductory manner. This General Handbook is to be followed by "Industrial Encyclopedia," consisting of as many Industrial Union Handbooks as there are unions to be organized. Numerous other books and pamphlets are also under preparation.

THE ETHICAL SIDE OF THE I. W. W.

To those who have put thousands of us in jail and to those who make it their daily task to besmirch our fair name, it will probably sound as blasphemy to speak of the ethical side of the I. W. W.

W., and still we are convinced that it is on its ethical merits that our organization survives all ordeals, prospers and has grown into a world movement. We certainly admit that we make a point of monetary gain and of material improvements of other kinds, and we certainly are making a success of this work of lifting the oppressed and exploited workers out of the mire of poverty and degradation, but we believe that we could not hold our membership on this ground alone, in the face of the severest persecution that any labor organization ever suffered. What holds us together is the hope and inspiration derived from the principles of human solidarity and the world-wide brotherhood of man which are at the bottom of our activities. Men are becoming tired and worn out mentally and spiritually in the hell of present-day society. They are looking for something better for the future, if not for themselves, at least for future generations of men. They are looking for salvation from the sodden, sinful, unrighteous life of capitalist society; they are longing for peace, happiness, purity, justice and love, and they feel that they have found the right way, when they join the I. W. W. Thus I. W. W. becomes something more than a mere economic movement. Its simple teaching of solidarity, expressed in the phrase "an injury to one is an injury to all," have actually become the religion of the poor, a religion which gives their troubled spirits the peace, the hope, and the salvation that other religions cannot give them.

THE FUTURE OF THE I. W. W.

We are happy in our belief and confident of final victory. This confidence makes our members face long prison terms without despair, aye, makes them unafraid of death itself. As time goes on we hope to improve in spirit and thereby increase our power for good. We shall then become irresistible. Our program of economic reconstruction of the world shall appear in its true light as the redeemer of mankind from the slavery of ages, and men shall no longer maltreat us, or imprison us, or kill us, but join hands with us erecting the structure of the new society.

For further information about the I. W. W. write to General Secretary-Treasurer, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.



The Vindication of the "Utopians"

By John Sandgren

It has in the past been customary for "The Marxian Scholar," "The Scientific Revolutionist," "The Revolutionary Socialist" and other such animals in the revolutionary Thiergarten to assume a very superior and condescending tone towards the man from Missouri, the man who "wants to be shown," or the man from Texas, the man that "wants to hold it in his hand," before he believes.

When the man from Missouri demanded to be shown a prospectus of "the co-operative commonwealth," or the man from Texas wanted a palpable demonstration of "the new society," these monopolists of wisdom used to protectingly pat them on the head and tell them, that it could not be done. That all such pictures in details were at best only romantic utopianism; that the best way to do was to vote the socialist ticket straight and let nature take its course. The most that they would let out of the great secret was that "The Pepul" was run everything, just the same as they are now running the lighthouse service, the army, the navy—that is through the government. The main thing was to elect them to office, and then they would usher in the new society.

When the I. W. W. in this country and the syndicalists over in Europe came with their program of having that same "pepul" take over everything and run everything through their industrial unions we were depicted to the gaping mass of Missourians and Texans as "visionaries," as "utopians," as "enemies of socialism" if not as traitors to the working class.

Take the Bergers and the Hillquits and Spargos in this country; the Hyndmans in England; the Thomas, the Guesdes, the Millerands in France; the Bebels, the Scheidemanns, the Eberts in Germany, the Brantings and the Hoglunds in Sweden—all of them might not have been the best of friends, but they all were agreed that the details of the new society, aye, even the general outlines of it, should be left to them to take care of, as soon as they were installed in the government offices. We were trespassing on their domain and interfering with their business.

The I. W. W.'s and the syndicalists were treated with a most ridiculous conceit by these self-styled "scientific" socialists and their followers. One could frequently hear their disciples, who had barely swallowed a half dozen of their "scientific" pamphlets, insult inquiring, serious men, who were seeking to arrive at truth by the way of facts rather than by unquestioning belief, calling them all sorts of names, such as "freaks," "pure and simplers," etc., just because they were not willing to accept the dictum of their masters on the spot. We were called "utopians," "pipe-dreamers"—in short it was sought to poison the masses against us, and our programs were treated as sheer nonsense.

Vindication from Europe

We do not mean that these "scientific socialists" now have stopped this little game. On the contrary, they are still as lively as can be, telling people to vote for them, to put them into office, and then, they will show what a "socialist republic" looks like. There is Ebert and his following, who, profiting by the rebellion started by the syndicalists of Germany, climbed into political power, and ever since have been shooting down the "utopians" with machine guns in the streets. But where is the "socialist republic," where is "the co-operative commonwealth," "the new society" that the socialists were to usher in, when they got into power. The German workers are now confronted by the fact that they have been cheated all these years by their "scientific socialists" and their "practical revolutionists." Capitalism remains with them and wage slavery remains with them, and they are in a more terrible plight than they ever were. So terrible is it that thousands of them prefer sure death in front of the machine guns to life in the "socialist republic."

It is at this point that the vindication of the "utopians" comes in. It is at this point that the German workers in increasing numbers begin to see that the detailed prospectus of the new society offered by the I. W. W. men and the syndicalists was no mere pipe dream. They have discovered that this prospectus of taking over society by means of industrial unions, is the only solution of the social problem. It is now proven that it was the political socialists, the self-styled Marxian scholars, scientific revolutionists and revolutionary socialists who were the pipe-dreamers and utopians, where their socialism was not merely a mask behind which they hid their ambition for power and their desire to make a carrier in bourgeois society. These conceited co-combs now stand unmasked as stupid fools, or as designing crooks and adventurers.

There is some satisfaction for the "utopians" in this vindication given them by events and by the actions of the workers, but it is a vindication mixed with deep sorrow—sorrow that the workers should have waited so long, before they ceased to follow their false prophets—sorrow that thousands upon thousands of the best of our class, thousands of "utopians" should have been compelled to unnecessarily sacrifice their lives—sorrow that the millions of our class should for years have been subjected to useless suffering.

It is now becoming plain to the German workers, and to the rest of the world, that capitalism cannot be overthrown merely by taking possession of the government. It is now plain to them that the workers have thrown their attack in the wrong direction in the past. They have captured the government buildings whereas they should have cap-



ON THE EDGE OF THE ABYSS

tured the shops, the industries, the places of work. They have now found out that the political fortress, when captured, is worthless. Its guns do not cover the economic field, but it continues to be exposed to the murderous fire from the economic field. It is now plain to us, that the capitalist class does not rule us through the government, but through their ownership and control of the means of production.

The Political Government is Only Secondary

The German workers, and all of us, now understand that they cannot disestablish private ownership and control except by organizing themselves by the shop, by the place of work, so that each industrial group can take over their respective shops and places of work and continue production and distribution.

The German workers seem to be trying to solve

the social problem by a double arrangement of industrial unions and local federations of labor exchanges, the former corresponding to the industrial unions of the I. W. W. and the latter to our District Industrial Councils or our City Central Committees. The Industrial unions to handle the common affairs of all the workers in the same industry, and in the future to serve as an organ of production and distribution, while the labor exchange serves for the purpose of local administration.

From the Norwegian Syndicalist paper "Alarm" we translate the following concerning the German labor movement of today:

"The German Syndicalists are already now striving for a form of organization which shall be ripe for its great historic roll and at the same time serve well in the daily struggle for better wages and

better conditions. In every community the workers are joining their organizations. The unions of the different industries are uniting in each place into a labor exchange (lokal samorganisation) which serves as centrum for local industrial union activity and revolutionary propaganda.

"All the labor exchanges of the country are united in a federation of labor exchanges.

"Besides every union is federated with all other unions of the same industry, and these in their turn with near related industries, which together form large industrial unions (industriforbund).

"In this manner the federation of the labor exchanges and the federation of industrial unions are the two poles around which the industrial life revolves.

"If the workers now, through a victorious revolution, are faced with the problem of reconstruction along socialist lines, then every labor exchange is changed into a local statistical bureau and will take charge and control of all houses, provisions, clothes, etc. The function of the labor exchanges is to organize consumption and through the federation of labor exchanges investigate the needs and to organize everything in the best manner.

"The industrial unions on their side have for their purpose to take control over and administrate all existing means of production, raw materials, etc., and to supply all the different productive groups and enterprises with all that they need.

Briefly

Organization of shops and enterprises through shop councils (Betriebsrate);

Organization of general production through industrial unions or agricultural unions;

Organization of consumption through the labor exchanges."

The German workers have answered the man from Missouri and the man from Texas. And they have not answered him with fine-spun theories, claiming to be scientific. They have answered him humbly and earnestly, as a man will do after having gone through hell itself in search of a solution.

Incidentally it may be remarked that the answer of the German workingman in revolution, in the act of building a new society, is as near to an actual reproduction of the I. W. W. program, as the difference in economic and historic conditions will permit.

The German workingmen and women are not only vindicating their own utopians but they are vindicating us also. At the same time they are exposing the false pretenses of the political charlatans, who would climb into power by mystifying the people and holding them in ignorance.

But the vindication of the so-called "utopians" comes not only from Germany. It comes from every country in the world, in a positive or a negative manner.

The utopian is vindicated in a positive manner in Russia where the process of reconstruction, where the building of a new society takes place to the tune of industrial unionism. That is, the Russian

people is coming into possession of its own by means of industrial unions, which serve as organs for taking and holding, as well as for actual production and distribution.

The utopian is vindicated in a negative manner from Hungary. Here political socialism was the only movement cultivated by the "scientifics." Industrial organization had been effectively excluded and boycotted. Without shedding a drop of blood the people came in possession of the political power, but made a most miserable failure of economic reconstruction? Why? Only because they had treated the "utopians" with contempt, when they tried to tell them to prepare for the revolution by organizing industrially, thus creating new organs of production. They paid the penalty, by having to go back under the capitalist yoke. And there they will stay until they dump their false prophets overboard and listen to the "utopians," that is, the real true prophets of our age.

The utopians are being vindicated in a negative manner from Sweden. Among the false prophets none has been more loud-mouthed, more insolent, more preposterous, more false, than Branting, the high priest of social democracy in Sweden. He is quite generally conceded to be the representative of political socialism. None has more industriously than he decried the "utopians." He has invented more derogatory names for us than any one else. And now he stands there, after a life of patient prophesying about a new order of things, on the top of the social pyramid of his own country. He has the backing of a "socialist" cabinet and his party is the largest party in the riksdag. Is he now going to show the doubting Thomases, the Mis-sourians and the Texans of Sweden what the co-operative commonwealth is? Is it now his intention to fulfill the promises of political socialism?

Well, listen to this translation from a Swedish bourgeois paper:

"In an interview Premier Branting has indicated the lines of the program the new Swedish government is going to follow. While the new government does not promise to enact in the near future any other reform than the municipal tax reform, the social democratic aims have not been left out of sight. 'Even if the government is social democratic it is not our intention to use our power to further party questions but to work for the common welfare of the whole country. We do not embrace the false doctrine of the Russian bolsheviks, namely of a proletarian dictatorship nor the theory of control by a minority. The social democracy that now holds the power in Sweden represents the big mass of the workers. They seek better living and working conditions not by means of proclamations, as in Russia, but through a slow development upward. We intend to reach our goal through co-operation with other parties in the riksdag. The committees of these parties will find the point in industry where socialization shall start.'

"Branting added, that he did not fear that bolshevism or any other form of communism would

get a footing in Sweden. The soil is not favorable. The Swedish worker wants evolution, but not the rule of violence."

Have we said too much when we call Branting and the other "scientific" false prophets? Has ever a prostituted American journalist of the kept press more insidiously perverted truth for pay than this mealy-mouthed optimist at the foot of the throne.

Does not the whole world know that he and his party delivered themselves body and soul to the allied high finance, in order to finally get into power. Does not the whole world know that Branting is doing his best to line up the Swedish workers in the ranks of the capitalist class in order to resist with force, if necessary, the attempts of the workers to put an end to wage slavery?

The Swedish Workers have followed their false leaders into the swamp of politics, where they will be miserably defeated by the capitalist class. Who knows how many days it will be before the Swedish workers will be driven to such desperation by wage-slavery under a social democratic government that in the choice between continuing in wageslavery and facing the machine guns, they prefer the latter.

We say, these politicians, who are throwing themselves and posing as practical men and friends of the workers, they are by the conditions being exposed as self-seeking swindlers, and the so-called "utopians" whom they have calumniated and resisted all these years are vindicated.

As this is dawning upon the workers of Scandinavia they will, like the German workers and the Russian workers, turn to practical society building by organizing industrially. God knows they have no time to lose.

Vindication in this Country

Turning, finally, to this country, we, the utopians, have not only been slandered in the past as pipe-dreaming utopians by the self styled social scientists, but we have been taken seriously by the capitalist class and by the capitalist controlled authorities and put in jail by the thousands.

It may be said to the credit of the socialist politicians of this country that all the four parties have endorsed the plan of the "utopians" in regard to industrial unionism, but it seems that they have not yet fully understood that we propose to use our industrial organization as the productive, distributive and administrative organs of our new society. They are still chiefly occupied with a campaign for the capturing of the government buildings, some of them by the ballot and others by mass action.

Our vindication in this country is slow but sure. To ask our detractors and our enemies that they fall on their knees before us and take it all back—all the bad things they have said about us—and join us, would be asking too much at once. The idea of industrial unionism is being universally adopted, without giving recognition to us. About in the same manner as capitalists are stealing patents or as plagiarists are stealing ideas. But as we are not particularly anxious to humiliate them,

we let it pass and are happy to record the victorious sweep of our ideas all over the world.

Time heals all wounds, and as the days go by the masses of the workers are daily drawing closer to an unconditional acceptance of the I. W. W. program, as the only solution of the social problem.

The vindication of "The wild eyed utopian" is complete in the world of thought. No other social theory can stand up against us. We have conquered all our enemies. What remains to be done is to enlighten the ignorant mass on the details of the structure of the new society. We may now feel at leisure to spring our "utopian" plans, now that it is proven that they were the only practical ones, while it was our detractors that were talking nonsense.

Let us go ahead and put up the scaffolding of the new society within the shell of the old as our German and Russian fellow workers are doing, in order to be prepared to take over society when it falls as a ripe fruit in our lap. Let us organize every industry and every city. Let us not be caught like the Hungarians, who had to go back to the old order of things for lack of organs with which to take possession.

When the man from Missouri wants to be shown the framework of the new society—show it to him. Give him an I. W. W. chart. And when the man from Texas wants to put his hand on it—take him in the union and let him shake the structure and feel its stability. We are not utopians, we are farsighted men—we are prophets.

The Blacklist

By W. J. Lemon

The Blacklist, is the most vicious instrument in the hands of the Railway Corporations with which to subdue their slaves; it is made use of principally thru the personal record, the physical Examination and the age limit; thousands of Railway workers are forced to seek employment in order to secure a livelihood for themselves and their families under an assumed name, better known in Railroad language as flagging.

This is an actual condition that faces thousands of workers in this so called "Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave." What a travesty on Democracy! Human workers denied the right to life, liberty and happiness by the owners of industry, because they have the courage to assert the principles of Democracy. The tragical part, is to see the Brotherhood, who claim a 100 per cent organization, submit in perfect acquiescence, without a murmur, to this most infamous system of brutal discipline.

The only method by which the Railroad workers can wipe out this abominable practice, is by organizing in the R. R. I. U. No. 600, which will give you the economic power, and enable you to act effectively, as your numerical strength increases.

"WITH DROPS OF BLOOD"

"Patriots" Trafficking in the I. W. W. scare

Most of the readers of The One Big Union Monthly have seen and read that much advertised 4-page statement "WITH DROPS OF BLOOD", written by William D. Haywood as secretary of the General Defense Committee and translated into a score of foreign languages and sent out in about half a million copies.

The words "With drops of blood" are printed in large, red letters, and in addition there is a big blotch of red ink on the front and on the last page, to resemble real drops of blood. That statement contains an enumeration of some of the crimes committed against the I. W. W. and is a most powerful arraignment of the capitalist class, while it at the same time sticks to facts and is irrefutable. Hundreds of times it has been reported in the capitalist press as having been found on persons arrested or taken in raids on I.W.W. halls, but never once have the papers stated what it contained. They left the public to believe that the red-ink — blood — drops were a covert incitement to murder, perfectly in style with the picture they had previously painted of the I. W. W.

Right here is where the point comes in. Having created such an I. W. W. scare, what was closer at hand than the using of this scare for the purpose of obtaining money from the gullible public thus deceived by the papers? AND THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT HAS HAPPENED.

And can you guess who it is, that is thus trafficking in the artificial I. W. W. scare for mercenary purposes, thus trying to obtain money under false pretenses? None less than THE NATIONAL SECURITY LEAGUE, the "patriotic" league backed by Morgan, Rockefeller, Dupont, The Carnegie Institution, etc.

Before us, as we write, lies on the table a circular of exactly the same size and shape as the I. W. W. circular mentioned. Its heading is in large red letters, and below is the big red blotch copied from the I. W. W. circular.

This is how the circular reads:

"WITH DROPS OF BLOOD"

"Have you ever seen an I. W. W. circular?

"The red ink line and spot on this page are reproduced from one of them. Thousands of people in our city are secretly receiving these.

"If they had their desired effect, the cry of 'Help! Help!' perhaps from your own wife and children, would be ringing in your ears.

"Why delay doing your part in fighting this?

"Have you ever read a newspaper published in English in New York City which condemned the opponents of its policies thus: 'They were native Americans, devout believers in Christ, the Constitution, and a host of other things, excepting unionism'.

"Of course you have not. But these things are. The above is from an editorial in a weekly paper, issue of Jan. 2, 1920.

"Why delay doing your part in fighting this.

"Did you know that almost one-third of the population of New York County is alien?

"New York County comprises Manhattan Island. One out of every three people who live in this narrow space is a foreigner, who see nothing in the United States except a national boarding place, where he shall give as little as possible and take all he can. (Reader, did you get that? Ed). We Americans have blindly neglected to make it a home for him, and have blindly permitted him to develop undue power and influence.

"Why delay doing your part in fighting this?"

This is the first page.

Do you notice how carefully the sponsors conceal the fact that the red on *our* circular was intended to convey the idea that these people are murdering us and shedding our blood. And do you notice how these grafting liars are using the suggestiveness of red ink and covert threats and warnings for their purposes, trying to convey to their readers the idea that *our* circular advises murder.

The second page seeks to win the favor of the recipient on the league's record. One column is headed: "What has the National Security League done 1914-1919?" The other column says: "What is it doing 1920?" Among the deeds of the past that the league is particularly proud of we note: "Persistently urged military training; Conducted nation-wide preparedness propaganda; Held congresses of patriotic citizens in several places to strengthen the patriotic fervor of the public; Conducted nation-wide 'win-the-war' and 'unconditional surrender' propaganda; suggested fusion in 1918 against six Radical Socialist candidates for Congress, which resulted in defeat of all them; Put patriotic arguments in the homes of the nation by reaching the children through the teachers, 200,000 of whom were taught by the league representatives at the summer school; conducted nation-wide propaganda for the popularization of the constitution."

Among the things that the league is doing in 1920 we note: "Urging universal military training . . . and spreading knowledge of its . . . democratizing influence; Sending volunteer speakers daily to fight bolshevism and preach Americanism," and last, but not least:

"Arranging with cities and towns all over the country for the observance of May 1st as 'American Day', by great parades to demonstrate the Americanism of the people." (Now, what do you think of that? Ed.)

In short, the league advertises itself as *wholesale dealer in canned patriotism* to gullible people.

If American Legion men or other "patriotic" hoodlums pester you and blackmail you; if your

children are annoyed by impertinent "patriotism" in school, if there are clashes and collisions in your town between workers and shirkers on May Day, you will now know who is the mercenary inciter of it. You now know the fountain head of the "patriotic" terrorism exercised by hoodlums in broad cloth calling themselves 100% Americans. These country patriots are opening up the canned goods put up by the National Security League.

But to return to the circular.

The third page states that for the year of 1920 the League needs \$225,209.04 to carry on its work.

That is where the drops of blood come in. For 225,000 and some odd dollars the National Security League undertakes to protect the wives and children of its supporters from the I. W. W. murderers who send out bloody circulars to incite murder. See the point? See how these unctious patriots are trafficking in the I. W. W. scare bred by the kept press? See how they are terrorizing even the rich to extort money from them under false pretenses?

Of all confidence schemes that need "federal investigation" it appears that this "National Security League" is No. 1.

Finally we come to the last page.

Here we find a partial list of its officers and backers. The list is headed by *Elihu Root* "Honor"ary President,, Alton B. Parker, Honorary Vice President, Charles D. Orth, President. And then follows a list of directors and executive committee men, all belonging to the class that wants to hold us in sub-

jection.

Everybody knows who Elihu Root, is. He is the chief legal counsel of the firm of J. P. Morgan and Co. He it was who had the first copy of the peace treaty, long before the U. S. senate had it. You see it was Morgan and his friends who started the war. It was they who concluded the peace. And what is more natural than that the peace treaty should be submitted to the counsel of Morgan and Co. before it was signed by U. S.

Morgan and his friends needed and wanted the war; For that reason they needed the preparedness campaign and the services of the patriotic league. Morgan and Rockefeller and their class still need wars here, and there, f. i. in Mexico or Japan, so they need the services of the National Security League "to strengthen the patriotic fervor of the people". For that reason they were heavy contributors in the past to the league, as shown by the congressional investigation of the league about a year ago. Dupont hates to see his powder mills standing idle, so he also is a strong supporter of the league. But it needs more money, and money is tight. For that reason they have to resort to false pretenses like they have in this red circular.

Besides, pleading poverty and soliciting funds gives the camouflage of sincerity to this hellish profiteer propaganda.

What shall we do with such human rats when the economic evolution irresistibly places us in power?

Who Are the 100 Per Cent Patriots?

By JAMES PONTIUS, F. S. S. L.

During the war the country from North to South and East to West was plastered with what we could not help but call the capitalist's hypocritical patriotic posters praising the wealthy and slandering the poor, and the kept and paid press acted as "me toos" in encouraging that sentiment. The propaganda was so unreasonable and absurd that we wrote a similar article to this one exposing the dope, but it was refused space in the papers.

Their aim was to make the common people believe that this dope meant that he who gave \$100, or the corporation that induced its entire force to give, whether it robbed their families or not, was 100 per cent patriotic and so on down according to the amounts given.

This seemed to have been the rich men's slogan, but few things can be farther from the truth. Were we to base patriotism on such an idea, people with money would be the only patriots and all the poor would be unpatriotic, for many had nothing to give, and very few but small amounts. To prove our assertion let us ask ourselves the honest and real questions as a guide to true patriotism.

Does true patriotism depend on those who talk or act; the laborers or profiteers; those who gave their lives or their money?

The few wealthy of the 110,000,000 American

people pretend to believe that true patriotism depends on giving a small part of their wealth or force the poor to pay to support the flag and the country, while the millions think giving one's life for the flag and country is still greater patriotism. We think with the latter for the reason when our lives are ended our money will do us no good, but if our money is gone we still have a chance to make good.

But for the sake of argument we will be fair and put both labor and capital on an equality—50% for each. With such a foundation who is the 100% patriot? That's easy. He who gives his life and all he has is the only 100% patriot, for the reason that no one can do more.

Suppose A has nothing to give but his life, B has \$1000, C has \$1,000,000 and D has \$1,000,000,000, and each would give his life and all he has, each would be 100% patriots. But suppose those with the money would only give their money or only a part of it and A gives, as before, he would be the only 100% patriot, the others would only be 50% or less according to the amounts given. This is too plain to be denied; and to prove this we refer you to the last part of the 12th chapter of Mark wherein Jesus said to those who cast money into the treasury, that the poor widow who threw in two mites



A CRUMB FROM THE UPPER CRUST One of the "Hundred Percenters".

"cast in more than all they which have cast into the treasury," because she cast in all she had, even her living. Mark you, Jesus did not say **any one** who cast into the treasury, but **all they** who cast into the treasury—meaning all together.

So with the widows at the wash tubs who put in their time to keep their children from want and the Government from aiding them, though they had nothing to give to the Red Cross or to buy bonds, are certainly as patriotic as those who gave no

matter how much. If this is not true admit that Jesus did not know what he was talking about.

So it was with the poor laboring men (and we know of many who had not \$50 worth of property in their names and some who had not even a sheet to put on their beds and had to live in furnished rooms) yet nearly all took a \$50, or more, Liberty bond which made each a strong 50% patriot. While not one of all the balance—the bankers, merchants, corporations, doctors, lawyers, politicians, officials,

clergymen, capitalists, etc., gave all they had in order to make them 50% patriots, and those who gave less than 10% of their wealth are even less than 5% patriots for their lives are not sacrificed and talk don't count—it all depends on what is done.

Now let us see what per cent the millionaires and billionaires test—those who so often prate about their loyalty and patriotism. Nearly all that any of them have thus far given, the government had to force out of them from income, graduated and inheritance taxes. We know of none who even gave 10 per cent of their wealth, besides beating the government out of millions by their profiteering. Henry Ford may be an exception though he at first opposed the war. It is stated that he sold all his war materials to the government at cost. If you can point out any others who did likewise we will stand corrected.

A few facts and figures: If a millionaire only gave \$10,000 and a billionaire only \$10,000,000, each would only be one half of one per cent patriots. Besides Ex-governor Johnson of California, now in the United States Senate, said the corporations in 1916 made from 500 to 1600 per cent on their money from selling munitions to the government.

And since then, if we can credit newspaper reports, many other corporations have made several hundred per cent more profits than did the ones Mr. Johnson spoke of. So instead of giving \$10,000 or

\$10,000,000, as the case may be, to be but one-half of one per cent patriots, they took advantage of the government in its peril and made even more than 500 and 1,600 per cent on their money instead of an "honest" 6 to 8 per cent.

Thus, as we speak of the card player who fails to make as much as he bids, goes "into the hole". So with those fellows, instead of giving a sufficient sum to make them but one-half of one per cent patriots, have made, according to reports, more than 500 to 1600 per cent—leaving them that much "in the hole" from extortion, or, if you please, so much less than no percent patriots. Figures don't lie. This is why Congressman Emerson of Ohio introduced a resolution in Congress to put those fellows on the criminal list to prosecute them. And were the administration but one-fourth as willing and anxious to bring those fellows to justice, as they are the hungry poor of whatever class, all the millionaire and billionaire profiteers would be in the penitentiary for life, instead of running at large grinding down the poor.

We suggest, as the common people furnished most of the money for the Liberty Loans and the Red Cross that those profiteers be made to pay the balance of the war debt for they made millions while labor was giving their lives. Besides it is certainly as justifiable to conscript property as it is to conscript life.



TWO 100 — PERCENTERS

"WE TOLD YOU SO"

(Continued from Page 16)

decrees and resolutions, but a **complete organic change**, a revolution, as we contemplate, must begin at the bottom, is a matter of evolution within the constituent parts of the organism itself, is a building of cell upon cell until the organism is completed. The so-called political organization does not occupy itself with this task. This task is left to the economic organization such as the I. W. W. which is even now grouping and arranging the individual human units as cells in the future organism of society. Such an organization as the I. W. W. will, when the proper time comes, pass society over from private to collective ownership with no more jar, than when a railroad train, after crossing a steel bridge, glides over the narrow slit which separates the bridge from terra firma, no matter what its struggle may be before it reaches that point. And such an organization, instead of having to abdicate on the day of victory, reaches first then its perfection, and becomes the permanent form of the new society. Of course I realize that little, if any, objection will be made to this manner of stating the function of the economic organization. The objection I anticipate is that we need the political movement as an auxiliary at least, in the every day battle with the master class. Against this objection I maintain, and will try to prove, that the political propaganda, far from being needed as an auxiliary for the overthrow of capitalism, is positively harmful to working class interests. Such propaganda fosters and maintains the illusion that all the evils of society can be mended at the ballot box, which I have shown not to be the case. **Reforms** can be enacted through the ballot, but not a revolution contrary to the interest of those who control the ballot. Political activity puts us on a par with the capitalist political parties and places us in a position where we have to tacitly endorse, and co-operate in maintaining the capitalist system."

(This point of the letter has been fully born out later in every case where socialist politicians have got into power, as f. i. Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, etc.)

"The advocates of political working class activity predicate their success upon being 'backed up' by an economic organization which is to take the chestnuts out of the fire for them. The economic organization makes just such demands as it is able to enforce, and it is able to make demands and to enforce them from the very first; it does not have to wait for that hazy day when we shall have a majority. For them to waste their energy on the building up and maintaining of a political organization, which they afterwards would have to 'back up,' only to awaken to a realization of its impotency, would be like crossing the river to fill your water-bucket, when you can just as well get your water on this side.

"One more objection I will anticipate and meet. It will be said perhaps: "The workers have the right to vote, and, if we do not give them a chance to vote for revolution, they have no choice but to vote for capitalism." But this objection has only a sentimental value. Some workingmen may feel some satisfaction in teasing the bear with a vote for revolution. I, for one, do not any longer. I do not enjoy practical jokes, and still less do I enjoy being insulted by having my ballot counted out. I wish to see my fellow workers quit wasting their time and energy on an illusion, drop politics, and unite on a plan of action which will bring about the results we desire, and that plan of action I find expressed in an economic organization on the lines of the I. W. W.

"You will then, finally, ask: 'What are we going to do with the political working class organizations already in existence, the Socialist Labor Party, and the Socialist Party?' The question is simple and easily answered. Both these organizations maintain that there is war between the two classes. In the war both of them have rendered splendid service, especially the S. L. P., in educating the workers up to the point where they were able to see the necessity of, and to form an economic organization like the I. W. W. They have done well as propaganda societies, but that is all they have ever been, their names and platforms notwithstanding. That they should have originally chosen the political field was natural, due to the deep rooted idea that all social evils can be cured at the ballot box, in a 'free' country. But their role is now played. In war, success depends often upon a complete change of front, upon a swift flank movement, upon abandoning one position and taking up a new one. Such movements are often necessary to avoid exposing your own men to your own fire. Such is the position of the S. P. and S. L. P. now. They are right in the line of fire. Their war cries are confusing and demoralizing the gathering proletarian army and may cause a temporary reverse. What kind of organization is theirs for war purposes! It is a machine, a general staff, composed of sections, of locals, calling on their army (and an unreliable army it is) every two or four years for parade and review at the ballot box and then dismissing it. What sensible man could any longer participate in that sort of stage war? It is up to you to break up camp and take up the struggle from a point of vantage in the I. W. W. and get out of the line of fire. Turn over your funds and your institutions at the earliest possible date to the I. W. W. and let us join in the drilling and perfecting of the revolutionary industrial army which is never dismissed, but fights and forges forward irresistibly to the goal, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishing of a new society."

These words, written 14 years ago, hold good today.

Let the expelled assemblymen and their fellow martyr Victor Berger, as well as all their voters, take our advice under consideration. In the light of the events of the last few years perhaps our advice will be better understood than in 1907.

The I. W. W., having cut the lines that bound it to political parties (at the convention of 1908) has become a world force, and has the satisfaction of seeing one country after another adopt our economic program. Is it not about time that socialists and anarchists of this country sacrifice old, untenable theories and join with us in building the new society, by organizing the workers industrially?

We have no tears to shed over the expulsion of the five assemblymen. We have foreseen it and foretold it, as proven by the above letter. May they go and sin no more.

The Gruesome Story of American Terrorism

INSTALLMENT NO. 3.

In Our March number we published a list of names of I. W. W. members arrested and sentenced during 1917, 1918 and 1919. This list covered only 679 cases. In our April issue we published a second list, of some of the recent arrests in the Northwest, prepared by the Northwest Defense Committee. This list covered 318 cases, or a total on the 2 partial lists of 997 cases. In this issue we have lists covering 206 cases, making a total of 1203 cases reported to date.

At the time of going to press we learn of the release of all I. W. W. men interned at Fort Douglas, Utah. Those internees being about 70 in all we have reported 1273 cases.

In regard to these lists there is a good deal of misunderstanding among the membership. Some seem to think that we are issuing these lists claiming that they are complete and correct. The contrary is the case. They are incomplete, and we are publishing them in order to get a start on a more complete list. Consequently, instead of calling the editor down for mistakes in the lists, dig up the facts that you know, write them down and send them in, and we will publish them. We want aid from every quarter in making this list, and we are getting it, though there are yet many places to hear from.

Herewith we publish 3 lists that are now available and some individual names. Keep sending them in. That is the only way to get the list complete and correct.

When the material is all in it will serve well as material for a history of the persecution against the I. W. W. in this land of the free and home of the brave, a story that will stagger the world, and cover the American capitalist class with shame.

The Omaha List of 1917.

Omaha, Nebr., April 12, 1920.

Editor O. B. U. Monthly,
Fellow Worker:

The following is a list of all fellow workers arrested at 573 Convention, on November 13, 1917 at 1301 Douglas St., Omaha, Nebr.

Released after investigation: **James Mitchell, Watkins, Louin Merkin, Mrs. Elmer Buse.**

Held for grand jury; released on personal bonds of \$5000. No indictment: **Bill Boyler, E. Weidell, Wm. Smith, Chas. Corzine, Dan Thompson, E. J. Burkhart, D. O. Anderson, John Stine, Herman Schultz, John Mitchell, Elmer Buse, Ed. Daley, F. A. Neary, W. Eicke, J. D. Lyons, Gus. Aubrey, Chas. Sites, Frank Swakal, Geo. Glatt.**

J. J. Ratti, released on personal bond, drafted, indicted Sept. 21, 1918.

Harry Trotter, taken to Chicago Dec. 14, 1917. Tried and acquitted.

Held for Grand Jury, released on Personal Bond. No indictment: **Otto Olson, Jack Sinclair, Joe Casier, John Melrose, Geo. Pappas, Billy Nef, John Williams, J. R. Paterson, Joe De Lisle, C. J. Gushwa.**

Audress Harrell, released to answer call of draft boards and **Frank Mulligon** went over-seas. No indictment.

Gerald Baldwin, released on bonds of \$500. No indictment.

The following were released on \$1,000 bond:

John Parsons, (Released Oct. 21, 1918); **Henry Harris**, (Released Nov. 6, 1918); **Geo. Winsky**, (Released Oct. 25, 1918); **E. W. Latchem**, (Released Nov. 29, 1918); **Roy Decker**, (Released Dec. 6, 1918); **C. L. Smith**, (Released Dec. 6, 1918); **Joe Garner**, (Released Dec. 6, 1918); **A. Lancaster**, (Released Dec. 6, 1918); **Robt. Wier**, (Released Dec. 6, 1918); **Jim Ward**, (Released Dec. 6, 1918); **H. Biddiscomb**, (Released Dec. 6, 1918); **Joe Ruby**, (Released Dec. 6, 1918); **E. F. Dicks**, (Released Dec. 10, 1918); **C. E. Bates**, (Released Dec. 13, 1918); **J. D. Ford**, (Released Dec. 13, 1918); **T. A. Jenkins**, (Released Dec. 13, 1918); **O. Swanson**, (Released Dec. 13, 1918); **G. Adams**, (Released Dec. 13, 1918); **Ed. Hibbard**, (Released Dec. 13, 1918); **Pat Monohan**, (Released Dec. 13, 1918); **Jack Neilson**, (Released Dec. 13, 1918); **Tom Ross**, (Released Dec. 13, 1918); **Carl Jacobs**, (Released Dec. 25, 1918); **S. Hendrickson**, (Released Dec. 14, 1918); **Walter Wolski**, (Released Dec. 13, and re-arrested for deportation to Mexico. Released on \$500.00 L. Bond, Feb. 10, 1919.) **Walter Pasewalk**, (Indicted Sept. 21, 1918. Pleaded guilty on Oct. 19, 1918 and was transferred to Dodge Co. Jail and was released Dec. 28, 1918 on cash bond of \$500.00.) **Wm. Weir-tola**, (Indicted on Sept. 21 but not arrested.)

All of the last 27 names were indicted Sept. 21, Total 66 cases.

Yours for the O. B. U.,

E. W. LATCHEM.

The Chicago "Conspiracy" list, 1920.

The following list of 37 names, taken from New Solidarity, gives the names of the I. W. W. members who were indicted in Chicago, Ill., in Jan. 1920 for conspiracy to overthrow the U. S. Government. Some of those indicted have not been apprehended. The others were bailed out in the course of January and February. At the present writing the case in postponed, indefinitely.

George Speed, chairman G. E. B.

John Jackson, member G. E. B. (not apprehended.)

Charles H. Miller, member G. E. B. (not apprehended.)

Henry Bradley, member G. E. B. (not apprehended.)

James King, member G. E. B. (not apprehended.)

George Bradley, member G. E. B. (not apprehended.)

Thomas Whitehead, general secretary-treasurer.

William D. Haywood, secretary general defense committee.

Ernest Holmen, secretary-treasurer I. U. No. 1100.

John Sandgren, editor One Big Union Monthly.

Donald M. Crocker, editor New Solidarity.

Antonio Presi, editor Italian paper.

Alex. Kohler, former manager publishing bureau (not apprehended).

Philip Kurinsky, former editor Jewish paper.

Philip Berton, former editor German paper.

James Crowley, branch secretary I. U. No. 573.

Elmer Rumbaugh, branch secretary I. U. No. 573.

Vladimir Lossieff, Leavenworth defendant out on appeal.

Charles Plahn, former joint secretary at Throop street, Leavenworth defendant out on appeal (not apprehended).

Fred Nelson, former member G. E. B., arrested at Rockford, Ill., but later released.

Duilio Mari, secretary Italian defense committee.

Harold L. Varney, former secretary-treasurer I. U. No. 300 (not apprehended.)

Anson E. Soper, former Throop St. secretary, not a member (not apprehended).

Abe Bloom.

Marcus Garvey (not apprehended).

Nicholas Conrad.

Robert Harden (not apprehended.)

L. C. Russell.

Fred. Smith.

Harvey Tibbs, connected with a colored men's Free thought society in the Second Ward.

Kalman Kis.

Carl Brauckmiller.

William Landgraf.

Julius Goebel.

F. M. Goodell.

Roscoe T. Sims, colored labor organizer, not a member.

All the defendants are held in \$5,000 cash or \$10,000 property bonds, but Fellow Worker Conrad is held on the C. P. indictment, so that he is under bond totaling \$15,000 cash or \$30,000 property.

Cases against the following I. W. W. members were dismissed: Ray Lewis, George Andreytchine, S. Bludin, Lee Green, Fred Tiffany, Mike Wakulsky, Leo Muxon and John Barowsky. Charles Motter's case had been dismissed January 22, but he was not released from the county jail until later.

A long List of additions and corrections.

Fellow Worker **A. L. Vecellio**, of 401 Tower Ave., Superior, Wis., sends in a list covering 103 cases, and a letter which shows how this matter should be taken up. Here it is:

Superior, Wis., April 11, 1920

William D. Haywood,

1301 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Fellow Worker:

Enclosed find some names and dates of some of our fellow workers who were arrested of late years, which names have not yet appeared in your lists.

I would like to call your attention to a mistake in the March O. B. U. Monthly list about Nick Verbeck, which stated that he was arrested at Benema,

Ida., 1917 and released without trial, 1918

....**Nick Verbeck** was taken from St. Maries, Ida., bull-pen to Fort Writhe, Spokane, Wash. In July 1918 he was sentenced by court martial to six years on McNeil's Island, Wash. Please make correction.

Yours for the O. B. U.

A. L. VECCELLIO,

401 Tower Ave.,

Superior, Wis.

Neil Guiney, arrested at St. Maries, Ida., July 18, 1917.

T. Venier, arrested at St. Jeo, Ida., July 20, 1917.

Ed. Shanon, arrested at St. Jeo, Ida., July 20, 1917.

Nick Verbeck, arrested Santa Jeo, Ida., July 23, 1917.

Matt. Antella, arrested July 23, 1917.

J. Antella, arrested July 23, 1917.

P. Davison, arrested July 23, 1917

N. McCloud, arrested July 23, 1917.

S. Hourve, arrested July 23, 1917.

A. L. Vecellio, arrested July 23, 1917.

J. Jarvis and 3 others arrested for criminal syndicalism at the latter date and taken to St. Maries, Ida. On August 2, transferred to Moscow, Ida., bull-pen, where they met 38 other members from Bovill, Ida., and Elk River who were under the same charge.

On September 17, 1917 they were transferred to St. Maries, Ida., bull pen where 28 others were already confined for criminal syndicalism.

All released on November 29, 1917, except **Nick Verbeck**, who was taken by federal authorities, tried before court martial in 1918 and sentenced to six years to McNeil Island, Wash.

L. Vecellio, **E. Pavini** arrested on vagrancy charge at Eureka, Calif., Jan. 26, 1918, released next day. Re-arrested before leaving court house on Federal investigation, released May 2, 1918.

G. Bertini arrested at Fort Bragg, Calif., state charge; arrested Feb. 7, 1918, released 41 days after.

A. L. Vecellio arrested at Van Voorhis, Pa., June 29, 1919, federal investigation, released July 3, 1919.

Ulm Makarus and **Ittone Alterio** arrested at Adena, Ohio, August 1, 1919, criminal syndicalism, out on \$500.00 bail, pending trial.

Sam Miskoff, Van Voorhis, Pa., deported to Russia on Soviet Ark.

H. Levinensky, Ellsworth, Pa. Deported to Russia on Soviet Ark.

M. Irloff, Star City, W. Va. Deported to Russia on Soviet Ark.

John Levo arrested at Seattle, Wash., Jan. 16, 1918, deportation, transferred to Everett County Jail, later taken to Ellis Island with 30 others on the "Red Special", released from Ellis Island on March 17, 1919 with 13 others, names as follows:

John Berg, **G. S. Ross**, **Ed. Flogas**, **J. Holms**, **J. Lund**, **Joe Martin**, **A. Bostrom**, **G. Lidbking**, **A. Hendrikson**, **E. Kertz**, **M. Smitt**, **C. L. Johnson**, **A. Slat-sky**.

Summary

In March number 679 cases
 In April number 318 cases
 In May number 206 cases
 Fort Douglas cases (see Dec. number).... 70 cases

Total number reported to date about.... 1203 cases

In the next number we hope to have a complete list from California.. Defense Committees, secretaries and individual members everywhere should send in missing names at once.

Send all information of this kind to the Secretary of the General Defense Committee.

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD,
 1001 W. Madison St.
 Chicago, Ill.

(Some few cases may have been reported twice. They will be sifted out later.)

This is the kind of letters we solicit.

Salt Lake City, Utah, April 6, 1920.

Wm. D. Haywood,
 1001 W. Madison St.,
 Chicago, Ill.

Fellow Worker:

I see you are trying to get a record of all members

arrested and jailed. I don't think you got a record of my case so I will give it to you.

Was arrested on May 3, 1918, on the charge of violating the espionage act, by obstructing the draft and enlistment services and hampering the work of the military forces.

Bond set at \$5000 but later reduced to \$2000. Released on bond May 13, 1918.

Indicted by the Grand Jury on seven counts and trial set for Feb. 10, 1919.

Did not have any defense at the trial and after less than 5 minutes deliberation the jury returned a verdict of "Guilty as charged."

Sentenced on Feb. 15, 1919 to one year and one day in Leavenworth. Arrived in Leavenworth Feb. 27, time expired Dec. 17, 1919.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

CARL LARSON,
 150 Nelson Ave.,
 Salt Lake City, Utah.

NEW PAMPHLET ON THE CENTRALIA CASE NOW OUT

Every one will be interested to know that the New Centralia Pamphlet by Ralph Chaplin is just off the press and ready for distribution. This pamphlet is a complete story of the Centralia tragedy and the causes that led up to it. Interwoven throughout is the sordid history of the Chambers of Commerce and the Lumber Trust in the Northwest; inside stuff never before uncovered. It also contains a good account of the trial and many interesting photographs. The cover of the pamphlet carries a special drawing by the author and there are 80 pgs. of reading matter. The photographs are somewhat of a special feature in this booklet; one in particular being a snapshot of the burial of Wesley Everest (the Fellow Worker who was lynched) by prisoners from the Centralia jail and who were under heavy military guard. This pamphlet should be in the hands of everyone. As an interesting memento of the struggles of Northwest labor it should be procured and preserved by everyone interested in Labor's emancipation. The price of the pamphlet is fifty cents and orders will be accepted now for prompt delivery. Owing to the great scarcity of print paper and the lack of printing facilities the number of pamphlets published may not take care of the great demand already evidenced. So get in your order now and be assured of at least one copy before the supply is exhausted. Send in your order to Geo. Williams, Box 1873 Seattle, Wash. Cash or postage stamps for single copies will have to accompany all orders. Prices on 10 or more copies will be sent on request.

NOTED NEWSPAPER MAN WRITES ON CENTRALIA CASE

Frank Walkin, the noted newspaper correspondent who covered the famous Centralia case at Montesano, Wash. for the Seattle Union Record has just recently finished a pamphlet in which he tells of the manner in which the newspaper correspondents for the capitalist newspapers handled the news. Walkin had plenty of opportunity to study the subjects he handles in this pamphlet as he was on the scene at the trial from the first day until the verdict was brought in. The pamphlet is just off the press and sells for ten cents. If you want one or more of these pamphlets write to Box 1873, Seattle, Wash. Branch and Stationary delegates are specially requested to take orders for this pamphlet. Postage stamps or money must accompany all single orders. Only a limited number of these are available so if you want a copy send in at once.

SWEDISH I. W. W. PAMPHLETS

Two of the I. W. W. pamphlets have recently been translated into Swedish and published by the I. W. W. They are **Industrial Communism—I. W. W.** Single copy 10 cents, \$6.00 per hundred.

I. W. W.—History, Structure and Methods, by Vincent St. John. Single copy 15 cents. \$10.00 per hundred.

Every secretary and delegate ought to have some of these. They are the only I. W. W. literature we have in Swedish. Send for them right away. Address: **Thomas Whitehead**, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

**MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS INDUSTRIAL
UNION NO. 8—APRIL 15TH, 1920
Organization Plans for Spring 1920**

The Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 8 is planning an intensive organization campaign this spring and intends to make a big drive for membership on all fronts.

On the Atlantic Coast Fellow-workers Jack Walsh and Ben H. Fletcher old and experienced members in the Marine Industry are taking charge of the Atlantic Coast drive.

Fellow-worker Jack Walsh is at present in Boston and will put in his time in New England. Boston before the war was one of our strongest ports and Fellow-worker Walsh who has formerly done good work in Boston will undoubtedly put this port again on the map as one of the strongholds of the M. T. W.

Fellow-worker Ben Fletcher is concentrating his efforts on Baltimore. Baltimore is the port in which we lined up 1,200 colored longshoremen in one month in 1917. And through a combination between the bosses and the A. F. of L. our members were blacklisted and forced off the job. Fellow-worker Fletcher in a few days was able to re-organize the defunct branch and reports that prospects of a good stable organization is exceptionally good in Baltimore.

On the Lakes, Fellow Worker Kangas who has done good work last season will be placed in the same territory and we expect very good results.

As soon as we can get a competent Italian organizer we will make an organization drive in the port of New York.

With such good prospects of organization before us, with the Old Unions falling to pieces and with such good competent men in charge of the organization work No. 8 should soon be able to double its membership.

It is up to all THE MEMBERS to co-operate with our traveling delegates to help them in all possible ways. Remember the best organizers can do little without the earnest and hearty co-operation of the entire membership.

The M. T. W. No. 8 has been lucky to get such old, earnest, and competent members of the M. T. W. to go into the field and do their part and we trust that all members will co-operate with them and help build up a strong and powerful union in the Marine Industry.

Now altogether for an 100 per cent increase in membership for 1920.

Get credentials if you have not got them. Co-operate with the traveling delegates. Get busy and pull together for a 100 per cent organization of the M. T. W. No. 8 on the waterfront.

Don't forget to send suggestions on organization work to the M. T. W. Conference to be held May 6th at Chicago, Ill.

With best wishes, we remain,

Yours for the One Big Union of the M. T. W.

James Scott, Sec-Treas.

Elmer Kennard, Chairman G. O. C.

RESOLUTION

**PASSED BY THE UNITED RUSSIAN BRANCHES OF THE
I. W. W. IN CHICAGO AT THEIR MEETING
ON THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1920**

Having considered the critical situation of the General Office of the I. W. W., the difficulty of the carrying on of the work of organization and education by the G. E. B. because of deficient financial means, the meeting resolved:

1. To recommend to all Industrial Unions to accurately remit their monthly per capita contribution to the General Office.

2. That they promptly pay for supplies, newspapers and literature which they receive from the General Office.

3. That all Industrial Unions lay especial stress upon the sale of organization stamps and that all money received for such be promptly forwarded to the General Office.

4. Our executive organs and our press are devoting too much time and energy to the struggle with the capitalist class in its courts, ignoring the work or organization.

5. This is reflected in the condition of some of our press organ: several papers were compelled to suspend publication while others were entirely forced out of existence for lack of financial means.

6. It is necessary to periodically issue leaflets, appeals, proclamations, etc., to send out organizers, propagandists, etc., for the purpose of sustaining the militant spirit of the members of the organization and for the attraction of new revolutionary elements into the fold of the I. W. W. This is impossible while the minds of the members are in defensive rather than aggressive mood.

7. Never in the history of the labor movement were the doors of prisons thrown open for the fighters of human emancipation by the decrees of capitalistic courts, except when the workers through DIRECT ACTION, their concerted economic power, compelled the masters to do that.

8. We recommend to the membership of the organization to turn their attention to the aggressive functions of our organization for the liberation of all class war prisoners as well as for the abolition of wage slavery.

9. To accomplish this task of energetic agitation and organization is necessary to build the O. B. U. of the I. W. W. that will be capable to overcome its eternal enemy only through aggressive and not defensive action.

10. Acknowledging that at the present moment it is necessary to assist the General Office to carry out the decision of the membership, a voluntary collection was made which brought \$93.00. It is desirable that other branches follow this example.

11. All I. W. W. papers are requested to publish the above resolution.

BULLETIN M. T. W. I. U. No. 8

APRIL 1, 1919

The International situation is moving along rapidly toward the formation of an International organization. The I. T. F. Conference held at Christiania the latter part of March will undoubtedly develop something definite along that line. In addition to that there are steps being taken elsewhere to bring about international solidarity.

In Stockholm a sixteen page pamphlet about the marine industry has been printed by the Stockholm branch of No. 8. In Liverpool an effort is being made to carry on an educational propaganda among the longshoremen. Tom Barker is in England to start a branch of the M. T. W. of South America there. Two branch offices have been opened in Australia by the same organization. An effort is also being made to do the same in the Baltic sea ports.

Communications have been received from the Deutscher Seemanns bund of Hamburg and the Sindicato de Transportes de Malaga.

Fellow Worker L. Schiffman who was reported lost with the sinking of a tanker on the Pacific was not on that ill-fated tanker and is alive and kicking as usual. "That is kicking against the boss."

A traveling delegate is being placed on the lakes and good results are expected. Delegates on the upper lakes may get supplies and send their reports to Pete Petaja, 401 Tower avenue, Superior, Wis.

Things are dull on both coasts but will undoubtedly pick up in the spring and with the lakes opening up there should be a good increase in membership shortly.

Members having any suggestions to make regarding organization work should send them in so that this office could lay out a plan for organization work.

The chances for organization are good if the membership will co-operate and carry credentials. No union is built up by its officials. An active membership means a big organization, and the only way to have a big organization is for all members to carry credentials and get busy on the job.

Organizations are built up on the job and not in halls. Job delegates are the only means of building a strong and powerful job organization.

If you have not got credentials get them now.

With best wishes, we are yours,

For the O. B. U.

Elmer Kennard,
Chairman, G. O. C.

James Scott,
Secretary-Treas.

LUMBER WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 500, I. W. W.

STATEMENTS OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES COMMENCING MARCH 1, 1920 ENDING APRIL 1, 1920

Receipts	
14,872 initiations	\$29,744.00
145,847 dues stamps	72,923.50
General organization stamps	9,023.50
C. W. P. Stamps	11,120.00
District Organization stamps	652.00
Buttons	1,622.35
Literature	8,120.33
Card cases, Dup. Cards, Banners	1,090.50
On Acct. Supplies	2,180.22
Credits on Branch Sec's and Dels.	24,092.22
General Defense	11,798.06
Centralia Defense	9,270.43
Miscellaneous Defense Funds	687.91
Miscellaneous Receipts	1,664.23
I. W. I. U. 500 stamps	586.00

Total Receipts\$184,575.25

Expenditures	
General Headquarters per capita	19,500.00
General Headquarters Supplies	8,587.10
Literature	15,056.32
Literature Subs.	12.55
Wages	48,660.24
Mileage	7,240.22
Charges: on acct. supplies	3,374.22
Charges on Branch Secies and Dels.	28,276.78
General Defense Funds	21,650.15
Miscellaneous Relief and Def Funds	2,534.44
Centralia Defense	6,443.88
Main Office Salaries	8,478.35
Rent, light, heat etc.	7,705.78
Stationery and fixtures	3,094.22
Postage, Express and Wires	3,737.90
Miscellaneous Expenses	1,276.68

Total Expenditures\$185,628.83

Recapitulation	
Total Receipts	184,575.25
Cash Balance April 1, 1919	4,132.53
Total	\$188,707.78
Total expenditures	185,628.83

Cash balance April 1, 1920\$ 3,078.95

SEATTLE'S BIG MAY DAY PICNIC

given by the Northwest District Defense Committee at People's Park (Renton Junction), Sunday, May 2, 1920. Benefit Class War Prisoners. Good music, sports, lunch and refreshments, speakers. Geo. F. Vanderveer and a speaker of International note. Interurban trains leave hourly from Occidental and Yesler. Bring your families and friends to celebrate Labor's International Holiday. Admission 50 cents.

SUPERIOR BRANCH OF NORTHWEST DEFENSE COMMITTEE

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR MARCH, 1920

Receipts	
Gust Kanges Ring, Raffle	50.50
Anton Aava List No. 90	33.65
Hjalmar Laine, List No. 402	5.50
Ellen Lindholm, List No. 11	25.25
H. Jorgensen, List No. 51	8.50
Jenny Paanaen, List No. 424	6.80
Tom McCoy, List No. 43	33.65
Walter Tienhaara, List No. 40	29.50
Leonard Broman, List No. 36	3.00
Leonard Broman Ring Raffle	50.50
J. Coleman, List No. 29	42.75
Otto Plank, List No. 198	5.00
Victor West, List No. 425	3.50
John Patterson for postage stamps	20.00
P. J. Gorman, List No. 411	18.25
Ed. Maki, List No. 27	34.20
Anton Floor, List No. 414	13.10
A. L. Anderson, List No. 23	3.00
H. Beck, List No. 14	5.00
H. Jorgensen, List No. 419	4.00
A. S. Woods, List No. 410	9.76
Joe Vangsnes, List No. 41	21.25
Adolph Vangsnes, List No. 42	8.15
L. Broman, Raffle on ring	50.50
Peter Berscheid, List No. 416	13.00
H. Jorgensen, Literature Sales	11.50
Alfred Niemi, List No. 18	7.70

Erick Ryhanen, List No. 432	22.50
Hans Hanson, List No. 418	2.50
H. Jorgensen, Jar in hall	20.10
Nels Olson, List No. 28	5.50
Olaf Brodin, List No. 48	4.25
A. Thompson, List No. 394	11.70
Alex. Koski, List No. 4	1.00
H. Jorgensen, List No. 420	5.50
Chas. Kivi, List No. 409	10.50
W. J. Nutting, List No. 24	2.75
Antti Maki, List No. 91	1.00

Total Receipts\$ 604.81
Total Expenditures 584.06

Cash on hand April 1, 1920\$ 20.75

Expenditures	
Permitted to Williams	163.85
Bought Ring from E. Flank	10.00
Remitted to Williams	217.80
Exchange on Check	.10
Envelopes for Raffle	.25
Remitted to Williams	93.31
Remitted to Williams	98.75

Total Expenditures\$ 584.06

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS INDUS- TRIAL UNION No. 573, I. W. W.

ELECTION RESULTS

Chicago, Ill., April 11, 1920

We the undersigned members elected by the respective branches as ballot committee to count the ballots for Gen. Sec'y-Treasurer and G. O. C. report as follows:

For Secretary-Treasurer:

Abner E. Woodruff	223 Votes.
Wm. Clark	63 Votes.
J. E. Nordquist	68 Votes.
Jas. Crowley	56 Votes. Declined
Jos. Downer.	35 Votes. Declined

For General Organization Committee:

Wm. Clark	300
J. E. Nordquist	266
John Parsons	250
(Not eligible, according to records in office has not paid dues since December, 1919.)	

A. McMillan 248
(Declined.)

C. D. Van Nordstrand 219

Harry Shannon 210
(Not eligible. Last dues paid Sept., 1919.)

Geo. Allen 209
(Declined.)

J. Kivienimi 207

Geo. Penn 207
(Not eligible. Last dues paid July, 1919.)

J. W. McMenamin 192

F. M. Goodell 182

A. Lancaster 176

A. Bartling 145

E. D. Rumbaugh 129
(Declined.)

L. T. Neavill 123

H. Dimond 119

(No record shows. Not eligible.)

A. Harrell 102
(Declined.)

Ballots received from branches and districts with summaries:

Philadelphia Branch:	52
Detroit Br. No. 1	51
Rockford, Ill.	10
Worcester, Mass.	5
Denver, Colo.	3
Brooklyn No. 3	10
Great Falls	40
Now York No. 1	21
Milwaukee	7
Butte, Mont.	2
Portland, Ore.	19
Chicago Br. No. 1	96
Chicago Br. No. 2	7
Sioux City	27
Seattle Br.	70

Total number of ballots cast: 475.

This would make the following members elected to the organization committee in the order named: Wm. Clark, J. E. Nordquist, C. D. Nordstrand, J. Kivienimi, J. W. McMenamin, F. M. Goodell, A. Lancaster; with A. Bartling and L. T. Neavill as first and second alternates.

Both elected members and alternates are requested to write to this office at once, furnishing their address, as a meeting of the committee will be called for April 26th and regularly elected delegates who are not in touch with this office at that time will be supplanted by alternates.

In case of error of those members marked "not eligible" correction should be sent to this office at once.

(Signed) WM. OLANDER, No. 740657

PAUL PRICE, No. 6013

JOE SCHULTZ, No. 444393

T. H. DIXON,

Sec'y-Treas., C. W. I. U. No. 573, I. W. W.
1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

TEXTILE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL

UNION No. 1000, I. W. W.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR FEBRUARY, 1920

Initiations	\$ 141.00
Dues	690.00
General Organization Stamps	8.00
General Defense Stamps	87.50
Centralia Defense Stamps	55.00
Centralia Defense Stamps, Paterson Branch	72.00
Voluntary Assessment Stamps	.50
Pris relief stamp	3.00
One day wage	3.00
Membership books old style	1.00
Membership books new style	2.00
Literature	59.85
Donations Textile Worker	45.00
1,000 copies T. W. for branches	14.80
On account cash balance	156.36
K. U. Sterbenkasse for defense	37.00
Altshulers defense	2.50
Collection at meeting New York Br. for Org. Fund..	8.97
Collection at meeting Harlem Br. for Org. Fund.....	10.70
Collection at meeting Harlem Br. for Org. Fund.....	2.00
Boston, donation for charter	5.00
Telephone refund	1.00
Loan repair	10.00
Button	.25
Sunday lectures Paterson Branch	17.82
FOB New Bedford Branch	1.00
I. U. 600 initiations	2.00
I. U. 600 dues	1.00
C. W. I. U. 573 initiations	10.00
C. W. I. U. dues	7.50
G. R. U. initiations	22.00
G. R. U. dues	18.50
G. R. U. initiations	4.00
G. R. U. dues	3.00

Total receipts\$1,498.25

Disbursements

To Headquarters, per capita	186.30
To Headquarters, general defense stamps	116.50
To Headquarters, organization stamps	5.00
To Headquarters, Centralia defense stamps	25.00
To Headquarters, sub list Paterson defense com.....	5.25
To Headquarters, One Minute Book	1.75
Literature	44.24
Wages branch secretaries	337.85
Mileage	8.54
On account cash balance	195.56
Rent, light, heat	244.18
Main office wages	112.00
Stationery and fixtures	26.10
Postage express wires	22.51
Printing, Paterson Branch	30.06
Printing, Textile Workers	74.00
Centralia stamps, Paterson, sent to Geo. Williams, by F. A. Blossom	72.00
Paterson Defense Committee, K. U. S. Branch 8.....	37.00
Paterson Defense Committee, Altshulers	2.50
New York Branch paid to Belinkes, 12th St. Hall...	10.00
P. O. Box Fall River Branch	1.00
Attorney fees New Bedford Branch	3.00
Donation O. B. U. conference, Paterson Branch.....	5.00
Expense Delegates, to O. B. U. conference branch.....	1.40
Expenses to lectures Paterson Branch	5.20
Voluntary assessment stamp cut	1.80
Lawyer fee Paterson Branch	25.00
Court fine Paterson Branch	10.00
Miscellaneous Paterson Branch	9.11
Allowance other unions	32.00
T. A. F. L. cards	4.00

Total disbursements\$1,654.65

Recapitulation

Receipts	\$1,498.25
Cash on hand February 1st, 1920	101.07

Total	\$1,599.32
Disbursements	1,654.65
Deficit March 1st, 1920	55.33
On account of the raid of February 14th, 1920 there is one report missing from an I. U. item one due stamp fifty cents.	

(Signed)

H. HOCHSTETTER,

Acting Secretary-Treasurer T. W. I. U. 1000.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR MARCH, 1920

Initiations	\$ 122.50
Dues	677.00
General Defense Stamps	22.50
General Organization Stamps	3.00
Centralia Defense Stamps	59.00
Centralia Defense Stamps (Paterson Br.)	62.00
Duplicate Cards	2.00
Buttons	1.75
Industrial Union 1200 Initiations	2.00
Industrial Union 1200 Dues	.50
Industrial Union 1500 Initiations	8.00
Industrial Union 1500 Dues	3.00
Industrial Union 500 Initiations	2.00
Industrial Union 500 Dues	3.00
Industrial Union 573 Initiations	4.00
Industrial Union 573 Dues	12.00
Industrial Union 1100 Initiations	2.00
Industrial Union 1100 Dues	1.50
Industrial Union 470 Initiations	2.00
Industrial Union 470 Dues	1.00
G. R. U., Initiations	10.00
G. R. U., Dues	9.50
Literature	73.45
On Account Cash Balance	190.66
T. W. Voluntary Assessment Stamps	28.50
Paterson Branch Entertainment, Cal. Defense.....	69.63
Paterson Branch California Def. Fund	50.00
Paterson Branch Donation Textile Worker	9.50
Paterson Branch Sunday Lecture collections	22.77
Paterson Branch Refunds, postage, phones and keys	2.50
Paterson Branch Women's Committee Org. Fund ...	25.00
New York Branch Entertainment	46.25
New York Branch Collection at lecture	2.19
New York Branch Entertainment at lecture March 4	2.00
New York Branch Ball tickets	9.00
New York Branch Collection at lecture, March 18	20.15
New York Branch Collection at Meeting	1.15
Harlem Branch collection	7.40

Total Receipts\$1,570.40

Disbursements

To Headquarters General Defense Stamps	88.00
To Headquarters Centralia Def. Stamps	55.00
To Headquarters Prisoners relief stamps	3.00
To Headquarters One Day Wage	3.00
To Headquarters Gen. Org. Stamps	3.00
To Headquarters Literature	5.00
To Headquarters Supplies	49.00
Literature	146.32
Commissions to delegates	1.60
Mileage	6.20
Wages to branch secretaries	203.40
Allowances to other unions	30.25
On account of cash balance	316.06
Paterson Branch Entertainment Calif. Def	69.63
Paterson Branch Calif. Def. Fund	50.00
Paterson Branch Printing	6.25
Paterson Branch Telephone	3.65
Paterson Branch Lectures expenses	4.10
Paterson Branch O. B. U. Conference Monthly Don.	5.00
Paterson Branch Miscellaneous	4.15
Paterson Branch Lawyer on acct.	25.00
Misc. Fall River Branch	.86
New York Branch Donation for O. B. U. Conf.....	10.00
New York Branch To Belinkis 12th St. Hall.....	45.00
New York Branch To Janoff Loan paid on acct. ...	10.00
New York Branch two meetings and signs	4.85
Misc. New Bedford Branch	.60
Marlem Branch Advertising in N. Y. Call	3.60
Harlem Branch Deposit on rent	5.00
Harlem Branch Printing tickets	3.50
Printing letter heads	9.50
Printing ballots	9.00
Rent, light and heat	110.20
Stationery and fixtures	40.90
Postage, express, wires	14.87
Main office wages, three weeks	84.00

Total\$1,434.49

Recapitulation

Receipts	\$1,570.40
Disbursements	1,434.49
Deficit, March 1, 1920	55.33
Balance on hand, April 1, 1920	\$ 8058

(Signed) H. HOCHSTETTER,

Sec.-Treas. T. W. I. U. No. 1000.

CHICAGO TAKE NOTICE
DEFENSE PICNICSTo protest against the imprisonment of workingmen and women
and to raise funds for their liberation

at RIVERVIEW PARK, Saturday, July 17

at BRANDS PARK, Sunday, September 5.

Remember the dates!

Scandinavian Bail and Bond Committee of the Gen. Def. Com.

HOTEL, RESTAURANT AND DOMESTIC WORKERS I. U. NO. 1100, I. W. W.**Financial Statement—March, 1920**

Receipts	
Initiations	\$ 138.00
Due stamps	462.50
Duplicate cards	.50
Defense stamps	10.00
Relief stamps	1.00
Organization stamps	14.00
Centralia stamps	21.00
Buttons	7.50
Literature	48.35
Smokers, entertainment, etc.	289.75
Credit, account of cash balance ..	8.84
Total	\$1,001.44

Expenditures	
Gen. Headquarters, account due books	59.25
Gen. Headquarters, account Assessment stamps.....	68.50
Literature	5.00
Wages, branch sec. organizers and delegates.....	14.00
Mileage	.80

Centralia defense	100.00
Rent, light, heat	126.48
Stationery and fixtures	18.85
Postage, express and wires	41.49
Main office, wages	112.00
On hand of branches and delegates.....	64.01
Entertainment expenses	72.74
Business done for other unions	15.25
Business done by other unions, allowance on sup....	132.50
Total	\$ 830.87

Recapitulation	
Total receipts from March 1st to 31st.....	1,001.44
Brought forward from February 29th.....	219.87
Grand total	\$1,221.31
Total expenditures from March 1st to 31st.....	830.87
Cash on hand April 1st	390.44
Grand total	\$1,221.31
ERNEST HOLMEN, Secretary-Treasurer H. R. & D. W. I. U. No. 1100.	

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS I. U. No. 400 I. W. W.**FINANCIAL STATEMENT A. W. I. U. NO. 400, MARCH**

Receipts	
56 Initiations No. 400	\$ 112.00
1876 Dues	938.00
88 Initiations No. 450	176.00
538 Dues No. 450	269.00
Organization Stamps	85.00
Relief Stamps	64.00
General Defense Stamps	210.00
Centralia Stamps	559.00
R. R. M. S.	4.50
C. W. I. U. Stamps	4.00
L. W. I. U. Stamps	.50
A. W. I. U. Stamps	9.50
Criminal Syndicalism Stamps	41.00
Buttons, Pins, etc.	3.25
Lit. Card Cases, Dup. Cards, etc.	233.60
Monies paid on acct. supplies	14.50
Monies paid on acct. by Br. Sec'y's and Del.	814.70
General Defense Donations	146.45
Sub. to Solidarity	2.00
General Convention Fund	34.91
Misc. Receipts	.96
Ind. Union	
G. R. U.	4.00 5.00 9.00
M. T. W. I. U. No. 8	2.00 .50 2.50
M. & M. W. I. U. No. 800	6.00 15.00 21.00
S. B. I. U. No. 325	6.00 6.00 6.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500	8.00 103.00 111.00
C. W. I. U. No. 573	58.00 160.50 218.50
R. R. W. I. U. No. 600	6.00 25.50 31.50
M. M. W. I. U. No. 800	26.00 66.00 102.00
T. W. I. U. No. 1000	2.00 3.50 5.50
H. & H. W. I. U. No. 1100	18.00 17.50 35.50
G. D. I. U. No. 1300	1.00 1.00 1.00
F. P. W. I. U. No. 1500	4.00 12.50 16.50
Total Receipts	\$4,282.86

	March 1920	Feb. 1920	March 1919
Total Cash Receipts	1,923.88	1,178.84	840.59
Total mlt. for all I. Unions	432.00	214.00	210.00
Total Dues for all I. Unions	1,623.00	747.50	930.00

F. FISHER,
Sec.-Treas., A. W. I. U. No. 400, I. W. W.**DISBURSEMENTS, MAIN OFFICE, MARCH, 1920**

Headquarters: Feb. Per Capita	160.50
Headquarters on Acct. Feb. Supplies	764.60
Comm. on papers	5.08
Literature and papers	169.05
Dist. & Br. Sec'y's and Del., Wages and com.....	788.50
Mileage	28.19
Monies held by Br. Sec'y's and Dels.	1,120.06
Main Office Salaries	304.00
Rent, Light, Heat, etc.	322.15
Stationery and fixtures	4.86
Postage, express, wires	46.24
General Defense and Relief	30.53
Allowance on Rep. from other Ind. Unions	239.00
On acct. Feb. reports from other Ind. Unions.....	139.00
Criminal Syndicalism Stamp ps	32.00
Two suit cases and rope	4.20
3 A. F. of L. cards	6.00
1 sub. to Solidarity	1.00
Total Disbursements	\$4,165.96

Recapitulation	
Total Receipts	4,282.86
Cash on Hand March 1, 1920	1,992.83
Grand Total	\$6,275.69
Total Disbursements	4,165.96
Cash on hand March 31, 1920	\$2,109.73

F. FISHER,
Sec.-Treas., A. W. I. U. No. 400, I. W. W.**METAL MINE WORKERS I. U. NO. 800, I. W. W.****FINANCIAL REPORT FOR MARCH, 1920.**

Receipts	
Initiations, 459	918.00
Due stamps, 5802	2,901.00
Centralia stamps and donations	905.15
Gen. Def. stamps	161.00
Relief stamps	53.00
Organization stamps	82.50
Six-hour stamps	67.75
Buttons, pins, etc.	65.10
Literature	267.31
Press and Organiz. fund	21.00
On acct. cash balance secretary's and delegates.....	3,559.61
Gen. Def. donations	880.48
Rail Fund	30.00
Strike Fund	451.00
Card cases, banners, etc.	54.75
Charter fee	10.00
Total	\$10,427.65

Expenditures	
Gen. Hdquarters, per capita	800.00
Gen. Hdqts. supplies	149.80
Literature	182.22
Subscriptions	3.50
Wages, Organ and Sec.	2,198.38

Mileage, Organ. and Sec.	301.56
Craft Cards	6.20
On acct. cash balances, Sec'y's and Delegates.....	3,508.40
Relief and defense	1,543.70
Strike relief	57.30
Bail Fund	130.00
Main Office salaries	487.25
Rent, light, heat	196.82
Stationery and fixtures	142.41
Postage, express, wires	185.50
Spanish paper, press fund	17.50
Allowances to No. 400	7.75
Allowances to No. 500	80.00
Allowances to No. 600	1.50
Allowances to No. 800	1.50
Allowances to G. R. U.	5.50
Miscellaneous	1.80
Total	\$10,043.51

Summary	
Cash on hand March 1, 1920	1,815.80
Total receipts for March, 1920	10,427.65
Grand Total	\$12,243.45
Total expenses, March, 1920	10,043.51
Cash on hand April 1, 1920	\$2,199.94

SUPERIOR DISTRICT M. M. W. I. U. NO. 800, I. W. W.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR MONTH OF FEBRUARY, 1920

Receipts	
Initiations—110 (3 Craft Cards)	\$ 230.00
Due Stamps, 2170	1,085.00
Six Hour Assessment Stamps, 14	7.00
General Organization Assessment Stamps, 21	21.00
Class War Prisoner Relief Assessment Stamps, 22	22.00
Centralia and Raid Assessment Stamps	120.00
General Defense Assessment Stamps	25.00
Bingham Strike Relief Cards	61.00
Buttons and Pins	21.85
Literature and Papers	44.85
Card Cases	21.50
Duplicate Cards	8.50
O. B. U. Banners	4.50
Centralia Defense Fund	297.84
General Defense Fund	64.90
J. Nikich Fund	55.85
800 Press Fund	30.00
800 Bond Fund	11.00
Credit on Branches and Delegates Accounts	127.66

MISCELLANEOUS	
Treasury transferred from J. Heino to M. Kangas	18.18
Total receipts	\$2,272.63

Expenditures For Superior District Office	
Wages	\$ 228.00
Mileage	2.75
Rent, heat and light	35.00
Stationery and fixtures	11.25
Postage, expressage and "wires"	42.38
Literature and papers	15.60
General headquarters supplies	160.00
Remitted to M. M. W. I. U. No. 800 Headquarters	1,800.00

MISCELLANEOUS	
J. Nikich	250.00
Advanced on account to J. W. Hanson	100.00
Wages for Br. secretaries and com. to delegates	236.17
Mileage	21.32
Rent, heat and light	13.50
Stationery and fixtures	14.45
Postage, expressage and "wires"	10.12
Charges on branches and delegates accounts	126.01

MISCELLANEOUS	
Bessemer Branch 800 account with Thomas Johnson	16.20
Relief from Virginia Br. to Mrs. Masanovich	8.00
Total expenses	\$3,085.75

RECAPITULATION	
Total receipts	\$2,272.63
Amount brought forward February 1, 1920	1,062.83
Grand total receipts	\$3,335.46
Total expenditures	3,085.75

Balance cash on hand March 1, 1920	\$ 249.71
--	-----------

PETER PETAJA,
Secretary-Treasurer, Superior District, Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800, I. W. W.

SUPERIOR DISTRICT FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR MONTH OF MARCH 1920

Receipts	
Initiations, 167	334.00
Due stamps, 3079	1,539.50
Six Hour Assessment Stamps, 58	29.00
General Organization Assessment Stamps, 53	53.00
Class War Prisoners Relief Assessments Stamps, 46	46.00
Centralia and Raid Assessment Stamps	165.00
General Defense Assessment Stamps	39.00
Bingham Relief Cards	178.00
Buttons and Pins	53.10
Literature and Papers	128.30
Card Cases	27.50
Duplicate Cards	2.00
O. B. U. Banners	15.55
General Defense Fund	563.71
Centralia Defense Fund	228.35
J. Nikich Fund	47.50
Credit on Branches and Delegates Accounts	159.59

MISCELLANEOUS	
Relief to boys in jail at Canada	22.00
J. W. Hanson account with P. Petaja	100.00
Bond fund	30.00
J. S. Hanson 900 charter	10.00
Bessemer Br. 1100 paid loan to Br. 800	10.00
Total receipts	\$3,781.10

Expenditures For Superior District Office:	
Wages	288.75
Mileage	9.02
Rent, Heat and Light	35.00
Stationery and Fixtures	61.65
Postage, Expressage and Wires	11.94
Literature and Papers	20.80
Bond Fund	30.00
General Headquarters Supplies	10.00
Relief to Canada for Boys in Jail	22.00
Remitted to M. M. W. I. U. No. 800 Headquarters	2,500.00

MISCELLANEOUS:	
Organization Expenses to J. W. Hanson	13.25
Loan to Gen. Def. Committee through Wm. Tanner	50.00
Branches and Delegates Expenses:	
Wages for Br. Sec'y's. and Commission to Dels.	405.10
Mileage	85.84
Rent, Heat and Light	30.60
Stationery and Fixtures	4.25
Postage, Expressage and Wires	22.85
Literature and Papers	5.00
Charge on Branches and Delegates Accounts	171.02

Total Expenses	\$3,807.07
----------------------	------------

Recapitulation	
Total Receipts	3,781.10
Amount Brought Forward March 1, 1920	249.71

Grand Total Receipts	\$4,030.81
Total Expenses	3,807.07

Balance, Cash on hand April 1, 1920	\$ 223.74
PETER PETAJA, Sec.-Treas., Superior Dist. Metal Mine Workers I. U. No. 800, I. W. W.	

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE METAL MINE WORKERS I. U. NO. 800, OF SUPERIOR DISTRICT, I. W. W.

We, your auditing committee, have audited the books of Superior District M. M. W. I. U. No. 800, from January 1, 1920 to March 31, 1920.

Receipts	
468 Initiations (3 craft cards)	\$ 930.00
8556 Due stamps	4,278.00
Duplicate cards	8.50
97 Six-hour stamps	48.50
122 General Org. Stamps	122.00
176 Class War Relief stamps	176.00
Centralia Def. Stamps	457.00
128 General Defense Stamps	128.00
Card cases	97.50
Buttons and pins	197.75
Literature and papers	224.05
Banners	32.55
Croatian paper fund	39.75
Centralia and General Defense Fund	1,583.91
800 Press Fund	96.90
J. Nikich Transportation Fund	103.35
Bingham Strike Relief Cards	239.00
On Acct. Cash Balance and Delegates Accts	523.00
Miscellaneous	254.23
Total Receipts	\$9,539.99

Expenditures	
Wages for Superior District Office	772.50
Wages for Branch Secretaries and Comm. to Del.	1,045.68
Mileage	215.29
Rent, Heat, Light	197.46
Postage, Wires and Expressage	175.06
Stationery and Fixtures	171.65
Literature	48.90
Thos. Whitehead Supplies	170.00

Relief and Defense Fund	39.05
On Acct Cash Balance Delegates Accts.	522.66
Miscellaneous	656.35

Total Expenditures	\$4,014.60
Total Receipts	\$9,539.99
Cash Balance January 1, 1920	248.85

Grand Total Receipts	\$9,788.34
Expenditures	\$4,014.60
Remit to 800 Headquarters	5,550.00

Grand Total Expenses	\$9,564.60
----------------------------	------------

Cash on Hand March 31, 1920	\$ 223.74
-----------------------------------	-----------

We have found that the cash book corresponds with remittances and reports from delegates, as well as receipts of expenses of Superior Dist. Office. We have also gone over District Office supply accounts with delegates and found them correct.

We have taken inventory of all the supplies in Sup. Dist. office 820 and found supplies as follows: Due books \$1130.00, Due stamps \$7037.00; Six-hour stamps \$293.50; Gen. Org. Stamps \$546.00; C. W. P. stamps \$958.00; General Def. stamps \$297.00; Centralia and Raid stamps \$1689.00, Buttons plain and gold and Brooches \$119.25; Card cases \$53.50; Banners \$33.15; Duplicate cards \$63.00; Bingham Relief cards \$162.00; Literature \$333.05; which we submit for Superior Dist Office to keep strict account during the following three months.

Superior, Wis., April 10, 1920.
Auditing Committee:
J. O. SEARING, 293093
WM. PIETILA, 238802

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS I. U. No. 573 I. W. W.

MARCH, 1920

Receipts	
267 Initiations	534.00
3105 Dues Stamps	1,552.50
Assessment Stamps:	
Gen. Org.	210.50
C. W. P.	97.00
Gen. Def.	309.00
Cent. Raids	940.00
Crim. Synd.	186.00
No. 573 Conv.	33.00
R. R. Magaz.	2.00
Card Cases	24.50
Buttons	76.00
Literature	189.83
Papers and Magazines	492.10
Donations—Gen. Def.	157.75
Cent. R.	80.70
Gen. Org.	23.47
Prop.	17.17
No. 573 Conv. Detroit No. 1	28.10
Acct. Cash Bal. Sec'ys., Dels.	765.68
From Rents of Halls	111.15
R. R. I. U. No. 600, Pro Rata Joint Acct.	48.88
A. W. I. U. No. 400 Pro Rata Joint Acct.	48.88
H. R. and D. W. I. U. No. 1100, Pro Rata Joint Acct.	50.98
Chic. Branch No. 2, Entertainment	44.05
N. Y. Br. No. 1, Entertainment	4.00
Del. E-443, Report lost in mail	20.50
Del. E-1300, Report lost in raid	16.50
A. W. I. U. No. 400, Org. Exp. G. O. C. Refund...	20.00
Subs.	2.00
Dup. Cards	14.50
Misc. Rec.	20.05
52 Initiations—Other Unions	104.00
1619 Dues Stamps, Other Unions	809.50
Total	\$7,039.29

Expenditures

Per Capita Initiations and Supplies	148.45
Per Capita Dues	337.65
Literature	132.35
Papers and Magazines	369.18
Comm., Initiations and Liter.	140.85
Wages, Sec'ys. and Delegates	1,283.88
Mileage	59.24
Allowance to Other Unions, Init. and Dues	966.80
Acct. Cash Bal. Sec'ys. and Del.	950.43
General Defense	1,017.25
Cal. Dist. Crim. Syndicalism	194.00
Wages, Main Office	320.00
Rent, Light and Heat	614.62
Stationery and Fixtures	166.97
Postage, Express and Wires	115.33
Entertainment Expenses, Chic. Branch 1	49.50
Charter Fee, N. Y. Br. 2	2.00
Phila. Branch Refund to G. R. U.	21.16
Misc. Expenses	22.85

Total\$6,912.46

Recapitulation

Total Receipts	7,039.29
On hand March 1, 1920	1,835.16

\$8,874.45

Total Expenses 6,912.46

On hand April 1, 1920\$1,961.99

T. H. DIXON,
Secretary-Treasurer.

LUMBER WORKERS I. U. NO. 500, I. W. W.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE MONTH OF
FEBRUARY, 1920

March, 1920

Receipts

676 initiations	\$ 1,352.00
11,111 dues	5,555.50
General organization stamps	548.00
Centralia stamps	3,091.00
C. W. P. relief stamps	480.00
General defense stamps	804.00
Seattle district organization stamps	41.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500, stamps	288.50
Buttons and pins	70.25
Card cases, duplicate cards, etc.	157.00
Literature	436.99
Contributions for Centralia defense	1,366.40
Contributions for general defense	162.34
Credits on branch secretaries and delegate acct.	3,644.11
Bail and bond fund	30.00
Initiations for other unions	44.00
Dues for other unions	369.50
Miscellaneous	104.80
Total	\$18,545.39

Expenditures

Per capita	1,500.00
Supplies	515.00
Literature	947.81
Wages and comm. to br. sec. and delegates	2,916.76
Mileage	190.27
Charges on branch sec. and delegates accts.	5,522.71
Centralia defense account	3,469.80
General defense account	1,374.05
Main office wages	621.50
Rent, light and heat	278.43
Stationery and fixtures	261.26
Postage, express and wires	199.28
Bail funds forwarded	30.00
Allowance 50-50 basis to other unions	209.50
Exchange on Canadian currency	7.16
Total	\$18,043.53

Recapitulation

Total receipts for February, 1920	18,545.39
Cash balance February 1st	2,208.10

Grand total\$20,753.49

Total expenditures 18,043.53

Cash balance February 28, 1920\$ 2,709.96

JOHN PATTERSON

Receipts

493 Initiations	986.00
10001 Dues Stamps	5,000.50
Organization Stamps	648.00
C. W. P. Relief Stamps	295.00
General Defense Stamps	428.00
Centralia Defense Stamps	2,814.00
L. W. I. U. No. 500 stamps	191.50
Seattle District Org. Stamps	19.00
Card Cases	124.50
Buttons and Pins	27.90
Literature	581.09
Contributions to Centralia Defense	544.00
Contributions to General Defense	37.00
Credits on Branch Sec. and Del. Accts.	3,030.55
Strike Funds	233.25
Convention Funds	50.53
Refund on Rent	47.00
Refund on Stationery	26.40
Collection and Sub. for Industrial Worker	19.60
Personal Deposits	286.87
Receipts not Classified	74.50
Receipts for other Unions—78 Initiations	156.00
Receipts for Telephone Calls	.30
Receipts for other Unions—1391 due Stamps	695.50

Total\$16,261.99

Expenditures

Gen. Headquarters, per capita	1,500.00
Literature, Bulletins and Papers	1,096.31
Gen. Headquarters, supplies	1,500.00
Wages to Branch Sec'ies and Delegates	2,685.00
Commission to Delegates	180.50
Mileage	256.86
Charges on Branch Sec'ies and Delegates Accts.	3,754.93
Centralia Defense Acct.	2,849.23
General Defense Acct.	20.00
Strike Expenses	203.25
Main Office Salaries	722.50
Rent, Light and Heat	330.86
Stationery and Fixtures	108.53
Personal Deposits Withdrawn	125.00
Postage, Express and Wires	207.11
Bank Exchange on Canadian Currency	14.92
Allowance, 50-50 Basis to other Unions	388.00

Total\$15,893.00

Recapitulation

Total Receipts	16,261.99
Cash Balance, March 1, 1920	2,709.96

Grand Total\$18,971.95

Total Expenditures 15,893.00

Cash Balance, March 31, 1920\$3,078.95

JOHN PATTERSON,
Sec.-Treas.
401 Tower Ave., Superior, Wis.

MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS I. U. No. 8, I. W. W.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR MARCH, 1920

Receipts	
March 2	
James Bruce, Seattle	\$ 38.50
March 3	
Delegate B. 119	14.50
March 5	
Dan Rickett, account G. R. U.	2.00
March 6	
Thos. Whitehead, account G. R. U.	3.50
Delegate B. 146	21.00
March 8	
Thos. Whitehead, account 1200	2.75
James Bruce, Seattle	12.00
Andrew Stenger, duplicate card	4.00
March 9	
Pete Petaja, Superior	9.40
March 10	
Albert Ross, I. U. 325	2.50
March 11	
Pat Mee, I. U. 800	1.25
John Patterson, I. U. 500	10.25
March 12	
P. Petaja, Superior, Wisconsin	5.35
Wm. D. Jones, Philadelphia District	400.00
March 13	
Delegate A. 601	17.00
March 15	
E. Holman, I. U. 1100	3.00
G. Mangano, New York Branch	10.00
March 18	
Delegate B. 119	24.00
Philadelphia District	400.00
Delegate B. 140	4.00
T. H. Dixon, I. U. 573	83.25
James Bruco, Seattle	12.00
P. Petaja, Superior	3.00
March 23	
Delegate B. 119	23.00
G. Mangano, New York Branch	10.00
March 25	
P. Petaja, Superior	2.50
March 28	
N. Verbanac, I. U. 800	4.50
Total receipts for month	\$1,119.25

Expenditures

March 1	
Underwood Typewriter Co., repairs	28.00
March 2	
R. Ferchter, rent	15.50
March 3	
Bank exchange	.10

March 6	
E. Kennard, wages	40.00
J. Scott, wages	40.00
March 8	
Union Stationary Co., supplies	1.46
Station D., postage stamps	5.00
March 13	
E. Kennard, wages	40.00
J. Scott, wages	40.00
E. Kennard, mileage and expenses	12.33
March 17	
Kate V. O'Brien, deposit on office	73.25
March 20	
E. Kennard, wages	40.00
J. Scott, wages	40.00
March 22	
Western Union Telegraph	.43
March 23	
P. O. Box rent	4.00
J. R. Irwin, installing lock	1.50
March 24	
E. Lyons, Drayage	11.00
B. Gold, office fixtures	80.00
Cooks Supply Co., office supplies	8.00
J. O'Brien, office supplies	38.55
New York Edison Co.	8.15
John Wannamaker, supplies	7.45
March 28	
J. Scott, wages	40.00
E. Kennard, wages	40.00
E. Kennard, mileage and expenses	11.18
Hearn's, office supplies	9.66
March 29	
Underwood Typewriter Co., repairs	1.25
J. O'Brien, office supplies	6.35
March 30	
Initial Towel Co.	3.00
March 31	
Thos. Whitehead, per capita	300.00
Assessments	44.15
T. H. Dixon, pro-rato, 573	2.50
A. E. Reese, pro-rato, 600	6.75
Jack Friedrich, pro-rato, 300	2.00
Pat Mee, pro-rato, 800	1.75
John Patterson, pro-rato, 500	12.25
Total expenditures	\$1,015.56

Summary March Financial Statement

Receipts	\$1,119.25
Expenditures	1,015.56
Balance on hand	\$ 103.69
On hand March 1st	2,914.11
Cash on hand April 1st	\$3,017.80

RAILROAD WORKERS I. U. No. 600, I. W. W.

SUMMARY RECEIPTS FOR MARCH, 1920

Initiations	\$ 104.00
Dues	310.50
Relief stamps	2.00
Organization stamps	2.00
Defense	17.00
Centralia defense	55.00
Duplicate cards and buttons	2.50
Literature	78.00
R. R. propaganda	20.80
Papers and magazines B. O.	29.20
Credentials delegates and branch accounts	13.00
Other Unions.	
No. 300	Init. 1.50 Dues 1.50
No. 325	1.50 1.50
No. 400	2.00 7.00
No. 500	2.00 8.00
No. 573	4.00 3.50
No. 800	9.00 9.00
No. 1100	4.00 4.50
No. 1200	2.00 .50
Total	\$ 683.50

SUMMARY EXPENDITURES FOR MARCH, 1920

Craft cards	3.00
Papers and magazines	21.00
Wages and comm. to del. and branches	23.00
Mileage	4.00
Allowance to Industrial Unions	147.20
Allowance to delegates and branches	6.75
Main office wages	186.00

Stationery and fixtures	28.38
Rent, light and heat	25.00
Typewriter repair	1.81
Postage, wires and express	62.34
Total	\$ 508.48

Recapitulation

Total receipts for March	\$ 683.50
Total expenditures for March	508.48
Total	\$ 175.02
Cash on hand March 1	261.11
Cash on hand April 1, 1920	\$ 436.13

JOB NEWS

C. B. & Q. Switchman at Galesburg, Ill.
C. & A. Brakeman at Bloomington, Ill.
Pennsylvania Switchman at Louisville, Ky.
Most lines coming into Chicago are hiring Firemen, Trainmen, and Switchmen. At the present time there are shipments to all parts of the country from Chicago.

BULLETIN

At the present time we are handling a mailing list of about 800 names, sending out circular letters every two weeks to radicals. Those having the address of any prospective members please send same to this office and we will place them on the mailing list and send them literature.

Yours for freedom,

A. E. REESE,
Secretary-Treasurer C. W. I. U. No. 600.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD—GENERAL OFFICE

RECAPITULATION
Organization Receipts

Due stamps	\$3,142.10
General Organization Stamps	73.00
Relief Stamps	53.00
General Defense Stamps	279.00

Centralia Defense Stamps	483.00
Due Books	609.15
Buttons and Pins	8.50
Literature on account	154.15
Organization Supplies	1,387.90
International Ptg. & Type. Co.	6,462.94

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

Literature, cash sales	33.91
Publications	2,325.76
Donations Organization fund	50.25
Rent—paid by Industrial Unions	200.00
Deposited by the Gen. Rec. Union	860.21
Deposited by No. 448	10.50
Deposited by No. 480	32.60
Deposited by No. 1300	4.25
Deposited by No. 1500	66.70
Deposited by No. 1200	48.70
Paid on personal accounts	274.10
Total receipts	\$16,559.72
Organization Disbursements	
Office—Wages	374.00
Postage, express and wires	30.53
Office supplies	12.75
Rent, heat, light	346.11
Towel service and window cleaning	8.45
Literature	1.40
Printing	62.00
Payment on Woodstock Typewriter	6.00
Bank Exchange	2.29
Educational—Publications	4,305.21
Books, leaflets, etc.	36.67
Supplies	453.06
Due books	250.00
International Ptg. & Type. Co.	5,468.59

General Defense Committee—	
On acc. balance due from Gen. Off.	1,095.95
General Defense Stamps	261.50
Relief Stamps	51.00
Centralia Stamps	452.00
Donations to Gen. Defense Fund	21.00
Printing	379.60
Return express	6.86
Wires	36.75
General Recruiting Union—	
Rent	100.00
Business other Ind. Unions	110.00
Wages office assistant	96.00
Workers' Hall, acc. cash balance	9.04
Subscriptions	1.50
Shipping room—wages	113.00
On personal accounts	13.25
Disbursements for the month	\$14,104.51
Balance March 1st 1920	\$2,235.09
Receipts for March, 1920	16,559.72
Total	18,794.81
Disbursements for March, 1920	14,104.51
Cash on hand April 1st, 1920	\$ 4,690.30

STATEMENT OF PUBLICATIONS FOR MARCH, 1920

SOLIDARITY	
March receipts	\$ 533.79
March disbursements	933.25
March 1st deficit	3,008.88
April 1st deficit	\$3,408.34
ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY	
March receipts	391.51
March disbursements	1,326.32*
March 1st balance	934.81
March 1st balance	803.33
April 1st deficit	\$ 131.48
SOLIDARNISC' (Polist Paper)	
March deficit	120.86
April 1st deficit	120.86
GOLOS TRUZENIKA (Russian Paper)	
March receipts	563.02
March disbursements	995.31
March 1st balance	432.29
March 1st balance	1,487.79
April 1st balance	\$1,055.50
RABOTNICHESKA MYSL (Bulgarian Paper)	
March receipts	565.89
March disbursements	529.79
Balance	36.10
March 1st balance	24.46
April 1st balance	\$ 60.56
GLAS RADNIKA (Croatian)	
March receipts	1.94
March disbursements	
March 1st balance	508.76
April 1st balance	\$ 506.82
IL NEUVA PROLETARIO (Italian)	
March receipts	333.10
March disbursements	712.41
March 1st deficit	379.31
March 1st deficit	1,467.26
April 1st deficit	\$1,846.57

DER INDUSTRIALER ARBITER (Jewish)	
March 1st deficit	220.48
April 1st deficit	\$ 220.48
PROLETARAS (Lithuanian)	
March 1st balance	2.68
April balance	\$ 2.68
LA NEUVA SOLIDARIDAD (Spanish)	
March 1st deficit	1,157.71
April 1st deficit	\$1,157.71
NYA VARLDEN (Swedish)	
March receipts	20.95
March disbursements	24.15
Deficit for March	3.20
Deficit March 1st 1920	1,771.11
April 1st deficit	\$1,774.31
DER KALASENKAMPF (German)	
March receipts	
March disbursements	10.68
Deficit March 1st	85.58
Deficit April 1st	\$ 96.26
SUMMARY OF PUBLICATION BALANCES	
	Debits
Solidarity	\$3,408.34
One Big Union Monthly	131.48
Solidarnosc'	120.86
Golos Truzenika	1,055.50
Rabotnicheska Mysl	60.56
Glaz Radnika	506.82
Il Nueva Proletaria	1,846.57
Il Nueva Solidaridad	1,157.71
Der Industrialer Arbitr	220.48
Proletaras	
Nya Varlden	1,774.31
Der Klassen Kampf	96.26
Totals	\$8,756.01
Publication deficits	7,130.45
	Credits

*) This includes approximately \$500 of expenses for April issue.

GENERAL RECRUITING UNION

Receipts	
Initiations	\$ 124.00
Dues	706.00
Assessments—	
Organization stamps	22.50
General Defense stamps	125.50
Relief stamps	6.00
Centralia stamps	65.00
Buttons	.75
Literature	338.03
Duplicate cards and card cases	6.00
On account cash balance	270.93
Donations—	
General defense	14.85
Organizing	115.05
Subscriptions to papers	1.00
Bundle order papers	65.30
Hall rent	187.97
Office sales supplies	.50
Collection from Open Forum	5.00
Defense stamps sold for N. W. District Def. Com.	1.00
Conference stamps No. 573	1.00
Press stamps	2.00
Total	\$2007.88

Expenditures	
In the field:	
A. F. of L. cards	4.00
Printing	18.28
Literature	77.49
Bundle orders paper and magazine	32.04
Organizing—	
Wages	53.50
Allowance	64.50
Mileage	.75
Commission	15.20
On account cash balance	179.86
Donations to members in jail	2.50
Rent, light, heat, etc.	161.64
Stationery and fixtures	39.65
Postage, express, wires	23.19
Expenses on dance Throop Street Hall	47.04
For sale of defense stamps N. W. District	1.00
Repaid to House Committee in Boston	45.00
Paid by New York R. U. to No. 8	2.00
Total	\$1,147.67

In the main office—

Subscriptions to papers	2.50
Allowance on supplies to other unions.....	110.00
Wages office assistant	96.00
On account cash balance	9.04
Rent Throop Street Hall	100.00

\$ 317.54

Total expenditures for March, 1920 1,465.21

Recapitulation

Total receipts for March, 1920	\$2,007.88
Cash on hand March 1st, 1920	111.99
Total	\$2,119.87
Expenditures in the field	1,147.67
Expenditures in the main office	317.54
Total expenditures for the month of march.....	1,465.21

Balance cash on hand April 1st 1920.....\$ 654.66

Yours for Industrial Solidarity,

THOS. WHITEHEAD,
Secretary-Treasurer G. R. U.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

SUMMARY

Receipts	
Defense Fund Donations	\$2,858.25
Centralia Fund Donations	342.05
Defense Assessments	261.50
Centralia Assessments	452.00
Loans refunded	1,489.55
Defense Literature	20.25
Refund on envelopes	11.18

\$ 5,434.78

Relief: Assessments	51.00
Bail Fund loans and donations.....	1,114.70

Total receipts \$ 6,600.48

DISBURSEMENTS

Office—Wages	406.25
Postage	2.00
Supplies	71.95
Telegraph	1.17
Printing and publicity	1,696.41
Meeting expenses	141.25
Speakers wages and expenses	195.00

Legal services and expenses	3,192.49
Drayage	29.92
Bank Exchange and returned check.....	8.45

5,744.89

Relief	626.01
Bail	366.00

Total disbursements \$ 6,736.90

Recapitulation

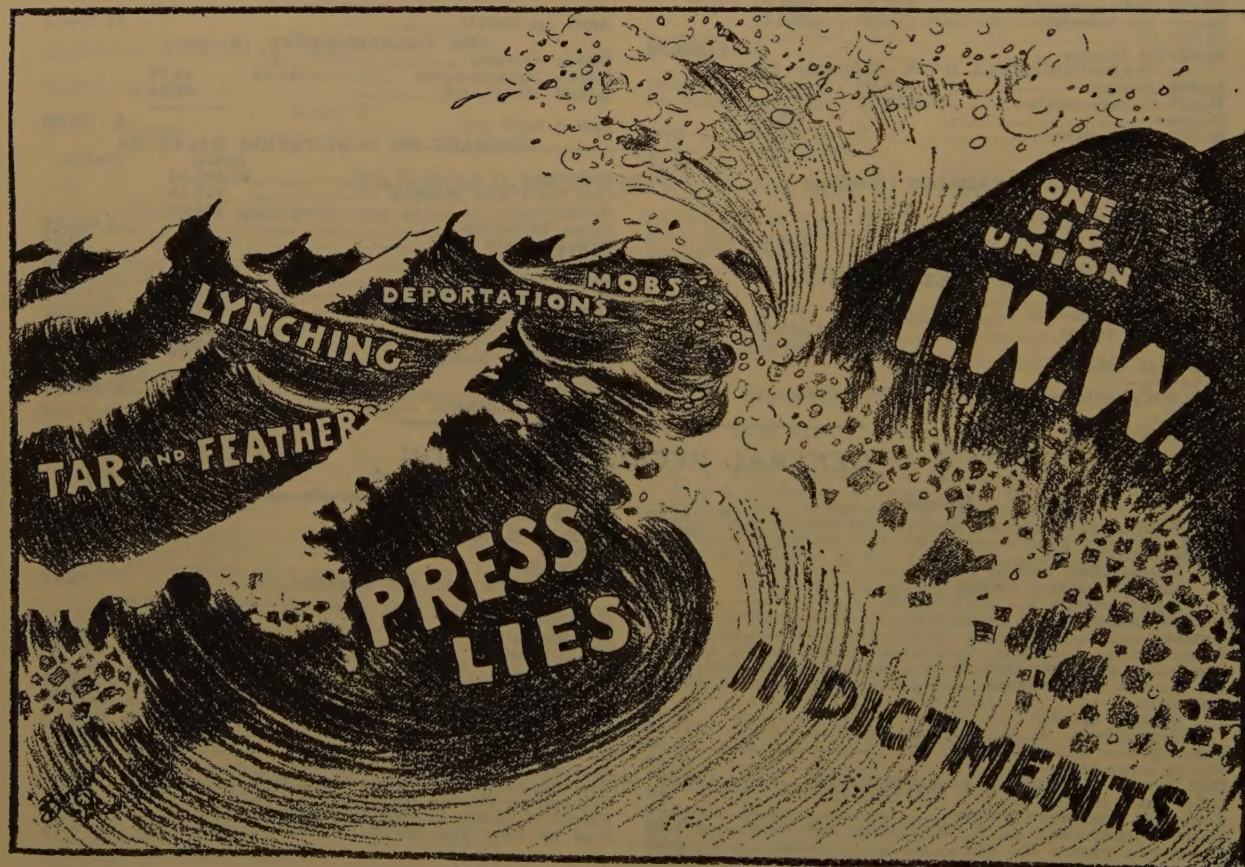
Balance cash on hand, March 1st, 1920.....	\$ 4,870.57
Total receipts for March, 1920.....	6,600.48

\$11,471.05

Total disbursements for March, 1920..... 6,736.90

Cash on hand April 1st, 1920.....	\$ 4,734.15
Balance due General Defense from Gen. Org.....	7,702.19

Total Defense Fund April 1st.....\$12,436.34

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD,
Sec'y. General Defense Committee.

STILL SOLID AS THE ROCK OF AGES

I. W. W. LITERATURE

PRICE LIST

	Single copies	Lots of 100
The I. W. W. Trial—George	\$0.25	\$15.00
Vanderveer's Opening Statement (cloth)	.25	15.00
Vanderveer's Opening Statement (paper)	.10	3.50
Evidence and Cross Examination of J. T. (Red) Doran	.10	5.00
Evidence and Cross Examination of Wm. D. Haywood	.15	7.50
Testimony of Wm. D. Haywood before the Industrial Relations Committee	.10	5.00
Chicago Indictment	.10	3.50
The Everett Massacre—Smith	.50	35.00
The I. W. W. Song Book	.10	5.00
The Red Dawn—George	.10	5.00
Proletarian and Petit Bourgeois—Lewis	.10	5.00
I. W. W.—One Big Union—Greatest Thing on Earth.....	.10	3.50
The Revolutionary I. W. W.—Perry	.10	3.50
The Advancing Proletariat—Woodruff	.10	3.50
Onward Sweep of the Machine Process—Hanson.....	.10	3.50
Evolution of Industrial Democracy—Woodruff.....	.10	5.00
The I. W. W.—Its History, Structure and Methods— St. John (revised)	.10	5.00

FIVE-CENT PAMPHLETS

Industrial Communism—The I. W. W.—Varney. A clear and concise explanation of Bolshevism and I. W. W.'ism; 24 page, large type and attractive cartoon on front page. Price, 5 cents a copy; in lots of 50, 4 cents; 100, 3 cents, prepaid; 500 copies or more at 2 cents, express collect.		
Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers—Chumley. Revised and enlarged	.15	10.00

LEAFLETS IN STOCK OR IN PREPARATION

Open Letter to American Workmen.....	Hardy
Eight page; a convincing argument for Industrial Unionism. Price, 30 cents a hundred, or \$1.75 a thousand.	
Justice to the Negro	Jones
A clear picture of the industrial and social status of the Negro; four page, with cartoon on front page; price, 25 cents a hundred; \$1.50 a thousand.	
Political Parties	St. John
Four page. A clear exposition of the fallacy of po- litical action as a mass of working class emancipa- tion. Price, 25 cents a hundred; \$1.50 a thousand.	
An Address to Colored Workingmen and Women. A clear and forceful statement of working condi- tions of the Colored workers, as well as a plain and convincing statement of the attitude of the I. W. W. toward all workers. Price, 25 cents a hundred, or \$1.50 per thousand.	
Note—All prices of pamphlets in 100 lots and leaflets in 1,000 lots are subject to express charges collect.	

SONGS WITH MUSIC

Price: 15 cents a copy; six for 75 cents; ten for \$1.00, prepaid; or \$7.50 a hundred, express collect.	
Workers of the World, Awaken!.....	Joe Hill
The Rebel Girl	Joe Hill
Don't Take My Papa Away from Me.....	Joe Hill
The Advancing Proletaire.....	Douglas and Von Liebig

ORDER FROM

Thomas Whitehead, Gen'l Sec'y-Treas.

1001 W. Madison St.

Chicago, Illinois

I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

Issued by the General Executive Board of I. W. W. Unions:

ENGLISH

THE ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill., \$1.50 per year; 15 cents per copy; bundle orders, 10 cents per copy.

SOLIDARITY 1001 W. Madison Street Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year, six months, \$1.00. Weekly.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Box 1857
Seattle, Wash. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00. Weekly.

THE FELLOW WORKER Box 79
Sta. D, New York, N. Y. \$1.20 per year; six months, 75 cents. Twice a month.

THE TEXTILE WORKER 20 Van Houten street,
Paterson, N. J. Monthly.

RUSSIAN

GOLOS TRUZENIKA (The voice of the Laborer, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. 3 times a week; \$5 per year; 6 months, \$2.75; 3 months, \$1.50; 3 cents per copy.

HUNGARIAN

A FELSZABADULAS (Emancipation), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year; six months, \$1.00. Weekly.

ITALIAN

IL PROLETARIO (The Proletarian), 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill., \$2.00 per year, six months, \$1. Weekly.

BULGARIAN

RABOTNICHESKA MYSL (Workers' Thought), 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year; six months \$1.00. Weekly.

ROUMANIAN

MUNCITORUL (The Worker.) Twice a month. \$1.00 per year (26 issues). 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

JEWISH

INDUSTRIAL ARBEITER SCHTIME

(Industrial Workers' Voice) 440 E. 13th St., New York, N. Y. \$1.50 per year. Six months 80 cents.

JEWISH

DER INDUSTRIALER ARBEITER

(The Industrial Worker). 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. \$2.00 per year; six months \$1.00. Twice a month.

LITHUANIAN

PROLETARAS (The Proletaire) Monthly
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

GERMAN

DER KLASSENKAMPF (Class Struggle)
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.; \$2 per year; six months, \$1; weekly.

FINNISH

TIE VAPAUTEEN (Road to Freedom.) Finnish Monthly.
1929 Madison Ave., New York City. Single copies, 25 cents. One year, \$2. Bundle orders over 10 copies, 20 per cent allowed.

Industrial Union Papers
Published by Stock Companies:

FINNISH

INDUSTRIALISTI (The Industrialist) Box 464, Duluth, Minn. Daily.
AHJO (The Forge). Finnish Monthly. Issued by The Work People's College, Box 464, Duluth, Minn. \$1 per year, 25 cents per copy.

SUBSCRIBE!